INTRODUCTION[a]

Two Books entitled "*Oeconomica*"—"Housecraft" or "The Ordering of Households"—are current in Greek under Aristotle's name; a third exists in two Latin versions.

The first Book is largely derived from the Οἰκονομικός of Xenophon and the Πολιτικά of Aristotle.[b] A treatise of the Epicurean Philodemus (a contemporary of Cicero) discovered at Herculaneum attributes it to Theophrastus, who succeeded Aristotle as head of the Peripatetic school in 322 B.C. According to Susemihl, although it differs in certain points from the teaching of Aristotle, it is unmistakably the work of an early Peripatetic, uncoloured as yet by any tincture of Stoicism.

The second Book, in the main a collection of anecdotes telling of the means, fair or foul, by which various rulers and governments filled their treasuries, was shown by Niebuhr in 1813[c] to be an independent work. It is certainly unworthy of the great moralist; and the οἰκονομική which it illustrates is something very different from that so carefully defined and distinguished from πολιτική in Book I. The intro-

[a] For this I am chiefly indebted to the edition of Franz Susemihl (Teubner, Leipzig, 1887).

[b] Susemihl (pp. v and vi) gives a list of parallel passages.

[c] His essay was reprinted in a collection of his shorter works published at Bonn in 1828.

ductory chapter applies the term οἰκονομία, as we apply its Anglicized form Economy, to the ordering of states as well as to that of private households; and in the succeeding anecdotes, the latter is ignored. Of the rulers whose deeds are herein recorded, Cleomenes and Philoxenus survived Aristotle (*d.* 322), while Ophellas was living in 308. Susemihl would assign the book to the latter half of the third century B.C.

The chief interest of these "footnotes to history" is the opportunity they afford for comparing ancient and modern treatment of such matters as currency, taxation, and insurance. August Boeckh makes considerable use of this Book in his treatise on the Public Economy of Athens (*Staatshaushaltung der Athener*), which may with advantage be consulted. It is available in an English translation.

The Greek text followed is in the main that of Susemihl (Leipzig 1887), which is reprinted by kind permission of Messrs. Teubner. Where I have diverged from it, I have given the reading preferred in a footnote. The pages, columns, and lines of Bekker's Greek Text of Books A and B are given in the margin for convenience of reference.

The third Book, of which no Greek exemplar is known, appears in a Latin translation made by Guillaume Durand[a] (who also translated the first Book) in 1295. One of the MSS. of this translation adds in the margin portions of a different version; whether this was ever more than fragmentary, we do not know. Another Latin translation is also extant containing Book II. as well as Books I. and III.

[a] Bishop of Mende in Languedoc, a distinguished statesman and jurist; died at Rome in 1296.

Its age and authorship are uncertain. Susemihl thinks the first Book of this latter version is translated from a Greek original differing from that used by Durand ; and suspects the third Book to be a compound of Durand's version and the now fragmentary one mentioned above.

These three Latin versions I have distinguished by the letters *a* (Durand), *b* (fragmentary) and *c*. In Book III. the version of Durand, as edited by Susemihl, is printed (by kind permission of Messrs. Teubner) on the left-hand pages ; and where the English translation noticeably diverges from it, the reading followed is added in a note. The pages of Rose's edition (*Aristotelian Fragments*, No. 184) are given in the margin.

In substance this so-called third Book is a graceful homily on married life, worthy of Aristotle himself. Indeed the chaste and tender spirit which it breathes is almost Christian. As a favourable example of enlightened Greek thought about marriage and the family, it is well worth presenting in an English dress. It should be compared with the discourse of Ischomachus in the *Οἰκονομικός* of Xenophon—a work probably well-known to its author.

In a list of works attributed to Aristotle which is preserved by Hesychius of Miletus (VIth Century) a treatise is mentioned under the title *νόμοι ἀνδρὸς καὶ γαμετῆς*—" Rules for married life." It is conjectured by Rose that this is the work translated by Durand, and now only known in his and the other Latin versions.

In the translation, words inserted to complete the sense are placed between angular brackets ⟨⟩.

[ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ] ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ

Α

1343 a I. Ἡ οἰκονομικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ διαφέρει οὐ μόνον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἰκία καὶ πόλις (ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ αὐταῖς ἐστι τὰ ὑποκείμενα), ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι ἡ μὲν πολιτικὴ ἐκ πολλῶν ἀρχόντων ἐστίν, ἡ οἰκονομικὴ δὲ μοναρχία.

Ἔνιαι μὲν οὖν τῶν τεχνῶν διῄρηνται, καὶ οὐ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστι ποιῆσαι καὶ χρήσασθαι τῷ ποιηθέντι, ὥσπερ λύρᾳ καὶ αὐλοῖς· τῆς δὲ πολιτικῆς ἐστι καὶ πόλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συστήσασθαι καὶ ὑπαρχούσῃ χρήσασθαι καλῶς, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἂν εἴη καὶ κτήσασθαι οἶκον καὶ χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ.

Πόλις μὲν οὖν οἰκιῶν πλῆθός ἐστι καὶ χώρας καὶ 2
κτημάτων αὔταρκες πρὸς τὸ εὖ ζῆν. φανερὸν δέ·
ὅταν γὰρ μὴ δυνατοὶ ὦσι τούτου τυγχάνειν, δια-
λύεται καὶ ἡ κοινωνία. ἔτι δὲ ἕνεκα τούτου συν-

[ARISTOTLE'S]

THE OECONOMICA

BOOK I

I. Between Housecraft (the art of governing a Household or Home) and Statecraft (the art of governing a Nation) there are differences corresponding to those between the two kinds of community over which they severally preside. There is, however, this further difference: that whereas the government of a nation is in many hands, a household has but a single ruler.

Now some arts are divided into two separate branches, one concerned with the making of an object —for example a lyre or a flute—and the other with its use when made. Statecraft on the other hand shows us how to build up a nation from its beginning, as well as how to order rightly a nation that already exists; from which we infer that Housecraft also tells us first how to acquire a household and then how to conduct its affairs.

By a Nation we mean an assemblage of houses, 2
lands, and property sufficient to enable the inhabitants to lead a civilized life. This is proved by the fact that when such a life is no longer possible for them, the tie itself which unites them is dissolved. Moreover,

1343 a ἔρχονται· οὗ δὲ ἕνεκα ἕκαστον ἔστι καὶ γέγονε, καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει αὕτη οὖσα.

Ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι πρότερον γενέσει ἡ οἰκονομικὴ πολιτικῆς ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἔργον. μόριον γὰρ οἰκία πόλεώς ἐστιν.

Σκεπτέον οὖν περὶ τῆς οἰκονομικῆς, καὶ τί τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς.

II. Μέρη δὲ οἰκίας ἄνθρωπός τε καὶ κτῆσις ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου θεωρεῖται, καὶ περὶ οἰκίας ἂν ὁμοίως ἔχοι· ὥστε καθ' Ἡσίοδον δέοι ἂν ὑπάρχειν

> οἶκον μὲν πρώτιστα γυναῖκά τε [βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα].[1]

τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τροφῆς πρῶτον, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ὥστε δέοι ἂν τὰ περὶ τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁμιλίαν οἰκονομήσασθαι καλῶς· τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ ποίαν[2] τινὰ δεῖ ταύτην εἶναι παρασκευάσαι.

Κτήσεως δὲ πρώτη ἐπιμέλεια ἡ κατὰ φύσιν· 2
κατὰ φύσιν δὲ γεωργικὴ προτέρα, καὶ δεύτεραι ὅσαι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, οἷον μεταλλευτικὴ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη τοιαύτη. ἡ δὲ γεωργικὴ μάλιστα ὅτι δικαία· οὐ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὔθ' ἑκόντων, ὥσπερ καπηλεία καὶ αἱ μισθαρνικαί, οὔτ' ἀκόντων, ὥσπερ αἱ πολεμικαί. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν· φύσει

[1] βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα: apparently these words were not in the copy read by Philodemus (see Introduction).
[2] Reading ὁποίαν (Schoemann) for MS. τὸ ποίαν.

it is with such a life in view that the association is originally formed; and the object for which a thing exists and has come into being is in fact the very essence of that particular thing.

From this definition of a Nation, it is evident that the art of Housecraft is older than that of Statecraft, since the Household, which it creates, is older; being a component part of the Nation created by Statecraft.

Accordingly we must consider the nature of Housecraft, and what the Household, which it creates, actually is.

II. The component parts of a household are (1) human beings, and (2) goods and chattels. And as households are no exception to the rule that the nature of a thing is first studied in its barest and simplest form, we will follow Hesiod and begin by postulating

> Homestead first, and a woman; a plough-ox hardy to furrow.

For the steading takes precedence among our physical necessities, and the woman among our free associates. It is, therefore, one of the tasks of Homecraft to set in order the relation between man and woman; in other words, to see that it is what it ought to be.

Of occupations attendant on our goods and chattels, 2
those come first which are natural. Among these precedence is given to the one which cultivates the land; those like mining, which extract wealth from it, take the second place. Agriculture is the most honest of all such occupations; seeing that the wealth it brings is not derived from other men. Herein it is distinguished from trade and the wage-earning employments, which acquire wealth from others by their consent; and from war, which wrings it from them perforce. It is also a natural occupa-

1343 b γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἡ τροφὴ πᾶσίν ἐστιν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρίαν συμβάλλεται 3
μεγάλα· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ αἱ βάναυσοι τὰ σώματα ἀχρεῖα ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενα θυραυλεῖν καὶ πονεῖν, ἔτι δὲ δυνάμενα κινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· μόνων γὰρ τούτων τὰ κτήματα ἔξω τῶν ἐρυμάτων ἐστίν.

III. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡ περὶ γυναῖκα πρώτη ἐπιμέλεια· κοινωνία γὰρ φύσει τῷ θήλει καὶ τῷ ἄρρενι μάλιστά ἐστιν. ὑπόκειται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν ἄλλοις ὅτι πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ φύσις ἐφίεται ἀπεργάζεσθαι ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ζῴων ἕκαστον· ἀδύνατον δὲ τὸ θῆλυ ἄνευ τοῦ ἄρρενος ἢ τὸ ἄρρεν ἄνευ τοῦ θήλεος ἀποτελεῖν τοῦτο, ὥστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν ἡ κοινωνία συνέστηκεν.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ἀλόγως τοῦτο 2
ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον μετέχουσι τῆς φύσεως, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, καὶ τεκνοποιίας μόνον χάριν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἡμέροις καὶ φρονιμωτέροις διήρθρωται μᾶλλον (φαίνονται γὰρ μᾶλλον βοήθειαι γινόμεναι καὶ εὔνοιαι καὶ συνεργίαι ἀλλήλοις), ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ 3
μάλιστα, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τοῦ εἶναι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ εὖ εἶναι συνεργὰ ἀλλήλοις τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν ἐστί. καὶ ἡ τῶν τέκνων κτῆσις οὐ λειτουργίας ἕνεκεν

[a] *Cf. Politics* I. i.

tion; since by Nature's appointment all creatures receive sustenance from their mother, and mankind like the rest from their common mother the earth.

And besides all this, agriculture contributes notably 3
to the making of a manly character; because, unlike the mechanical arts, it does not cripple and weaken the bodies of those engaged in it, but inures them to exposure and toil and invigorates them to face the perils of war. For the farmer's possessions, unlike those of other men, lie outside the city's defences.

III. When we turn our attention to the human part of the household, it is the woman who makes the first claim upon it; ⟨for the natural comes first, as we have said,⟩ and nothing is more natural than the tie between female and male. For we have elsewhere laid down the premiss [a] that Nature is intent on multiplying severally her types; and this is true of every animal in particular. Neither the female, however, can effect this without the male, nor the male without the female; whence the union of the sexes has of necessity arisen.

Now among the lower animals, this union is irra- 2
tional in character; it exists merely for the purpose of procreation, and lasts only so long as the parents are occupied in producing their brood. In tame animals, on the other hand, and those which possess a greater share of intelligence, it has assumed a more complex form; for in their case we see more examples of mutual help, goodwill, and co-operation. It is, 3
however, in the human species that this complexity is most marked; since the co-operation between woman and man aims not merely at existence, but at a happy existence. Nor do mankind beget children merely to pay the service they owe to Nature,

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Ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀναπληροῖ ταύτῃ τῇ περιόδῳ[a] τὸ ἀεὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν οὐ δύναται, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος. οὕτω προῳκονόμηται ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου ἑκατέρου ἡ φύσις, τοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικός, πρὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν. διείληπται γὰρ τῷ μὴ ἐπὶ ταὐτὰ πάντα χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ἔνια μὲν ἐπὶ τἀναντία, εἰς ταὐτὸν δὲ συντείνοντα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχυρότερον τὸ δ' ἀσθενέστερον 1344 a ἐποίησεν, ἵνα τὸ μὲν φυλακτικώτερον ᾖ διὰ τὸν φόβον, τὸ δ' ἀμυντικώτερον διὰ τὴν ἀνδρίαν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πορίζῃ τὰ ἔξωθεν, τὸ δὲ σῴζῃ τὰ ἔνδον· καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν τὸ μὲν δυνάμενον ἑδραῖον εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἔξωθεν θυραυλίας ἀσθενές, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἡσυχίας χεῖρον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς κινήσεις ὑγιεινόν· καὶ περὶ τέκνων τὴν μὲν γένεσιν κοινήν, τὴν δὲ ὠφέλειαν ἴδιον[1]· τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ θρέψαι, τῶν δὲ τὸ παιδεῦσαί ἐστιν.

IV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν νόμοι πρὸς γυναῖκα, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀδικοῖτο· τοῦθ' ὑφηγεῖται δὲ [ὃ] καὶ ὁ κοινὸς νόμος, καθάπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ ἱκέτιν καὶ ἀφ'

[1] Other MSS. read *τὴν μὲν γένεσιν ἴδιον, τὴν δὲ ὠφέλειαν κοινήν*, "to the production of children each makes a different contribution, but in their upbringing both share alike." (The concluding sentence, distinguishing between the parts of the parents in upbringing, points clearly to the first reading.)

[a] *Cf. De Gener. Ani.*, ii. 1, p. 731 b.

but also that they may themselves receive a benefit; for the toil they undergo while they are strong and their offspring is still weak is repaid by that offspring when it in turn is grown strong and the parents by reason of age are weak.

At the same time Nature, by this cycle of changes, 4
fulfils her purpose of perpetuating existence; preserving the type when she is unable to preserve the individual.[a] And so with this purpose in view Divine Providence has fashioned the nature of man and of woman for their partnership. For they are distinguished from each other by the possession of faculties not adapted in every case to the same tasks, but in some cases for opposite ones, though contributing to the same end. For Providence made man stronger and woman weaker, so that he in virtue of his manly prowess may be more ready to defend the home, and she, by reason of her timid nature, more ready to keep watch over it; and while he brings in fresh supplies from without, she may keep safe what lies within. In handicrafts again, woman was given a sedentary patience, though denied stamina for endurance of exposure; while man, though inferior to her in quiet employments, is endowed with vigour for every active occupation. In the production of children both share alike; but each makes a different contribution to their upbringing. It is the mother who nurtures, and the father who educates.

IV. We begin then with the rules that should govern a man's treatment of his wife. And the first of these forbids him to do her wrong; for if he observes this, he is not likely himself to suffer wrong at her hands. As the Pythagoreans declare, even the common rule or custom of mankind thus ordains,

1843 b
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Περὶ δὲ ὁμιλίας μήθ' ὥστε δεῖσθαι ⟨μηθὲν⟩ 2
μήθ' ὡς ἀπόντων ἀδυνατεῖν ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐθίζειν ὥστε ἱκανῶς ἔχειν παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος. εὖ δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου

Παρθενικὴν δὲ γαμεῖν, ἵνα ἤθεα κεδνὰ διδάξῃς.

αἱ γὰρ ἀνομοιότητες τῶν ἠθῶν ἥκιστα φιλικόν.

Περὶ δὲ κοσμήσεως, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὰ ἤθη δεῖ 3
ἀλαζονευομένους ἀλλήλοις πλησιάζειν, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ σώματα· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς κοσμήσεως οὐδὲν διαφέρουσά ἐστι τῆς τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλία.

V. Τῶν δὲ κτημάτων πρῶτον μὲν καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τὸ βέλτιστον καὶ οἰκονομικώτατον· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἄνθρωπος. διὸ δεῖ πρῶτον δούλους παρασκευάζεσθαι σπουδαίους. δούλων δὲ εἴδη δύο, ἐπίτροπος καὶ ἐργάτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶμεν ὅτι αἱ παιδεῖαι ποιούς τινας ποιοῦσι τοὺς νέους, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ παρασκευασάμενον τρέφειν οἷς τὰ ἐλευθέρια τῶν ἔργων προστακτέον.

Ὁμιλία δὲ πρὸς δούλους ὡς μήτε ὑβρίζειν ἐᾶν 2
μήτε ἀνιᾶν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐλευθεριωτέροις τιμῆς

forbidding all wrong to a wife as stringently as though she were a suppliant whom one has raised from the hearthstone. And a man does wrong to his wife when he associates with other women.

As regards the intercourse of marriage, wives 2
should neither importune their husbands, nor be restless in their absence; but a man should accustom his wife to be content whether he is at home or away. Good also is the advice of Hesiod:

> Take thee a maiden to wife, and teach her ways of discretion.

For differences of ways and habits are little conducive to affection.

As regards adornment: it is not well that souls 3
should approach one another in borrowed plumes, nor is it well in the case of bodies. Intercourse which depends ⟨for its charm⟩ upon outward adornment differs in no respect from that of figures on the stage in their conventional attire.

V. Of property, the first and most indispensable kind is that which is also best and most amenable to Housecraft; and this is the human chattel. Our first step therefore must be to procure good slaves. Of slaves there are two kinds; those in positions of trust, and the labourers. And since it is matter of experience that the character of the young can be moulded by training, when we require to charge slaves with tasks befitting the free, we have not only to procure the slaves, but to bring them up ⟨for the trust⟩.

In our intercourse with slaves we must neither 2
suffer them to be insolent nor treat them with cruelty. A share of honour should be given to those who are

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καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ τοῦ οἴνου πόσις καὶ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους
ὑβριστὰς ποιεῖ, καὶ πολλὰ ἔθνη ἀπέχεται καὶ τῶν
ἐλευθέρων, οἷον Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς, φανερὸν
ὅτι τούτου ἢ μηδὲν ἢ ὀλιγάκις μεταδοτέον.

Ὄντων δὲ τριῶν, ἔργου καὶ κολάσεως καὶ τροφῆς, 3
τὸ μὲν μήτε κολάζεσθαι, μήτ' ἐργάζεσθαι, τροφὴν
1344 b δ' ἔχειν, ὕβριν ἐμποιεῖ· τὸ δὲ ἔργα μὲν ἔχειν καὶ
κολάσεις, τροφὴν δὲ μή, βίαιον, καὶ ἀδυναμίαν
ποιεῖ. λείπεται δὴ ἔργα παρέχειν καὶ τροφὴν
ἱκανήν· ἀμίσθων γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄρχειν, δούλῳ δὲ
μισθὸς τροφή.

Ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅταν μὴ γίγνηται
τοῖς βελτίοσι βέλτιον μηδὲ ἆθλα ᾖ ἀρετῆς καὶ
κακίας, γίγνονται χείρους, οὕτω καὶ περὶ οἰκέτας.
διόπερ δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι σκέψιν, καὶ διανέμειν τε 4
καὶ ἀνιέναι κατ' ἀξίαν ἕκαστα, καὶ τροφὴν καὶ
ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ κολάσεις, λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ
μιμουμένους τὴν τῶν ἰατρῶν δύναμιν ἐν φαρμάκου
λόγῳ, προσθεωροῦντας ὅτι ἡ τροφὴ οὐ φάρμακον
διὰ τὸ συνεχές.

Γένη δὲ ἂν εἴη πρὸς τὰ ἔργα βέλτιστα μήτε δειλὰ 5
μήτε ἀνδρεῖα ἄγαν. ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἀδικοῦσιν· καὶ
γὰρ οἱ ἄγαν δειλοὶ οὐχ ὑπομένουσι καὶ οἱ θυμοειδεῖς
οὐκ εὔαρχοι.

doing more of a freeman's work, and abundance of food to those who are labouring with their hands. And whereas the use of wine renders even free men insolent, so that in many countries they too refrain from it—as, for instance, the Carthaginians do when they are on campaign—it follows that we must either deny wine to slaves altogether, or reserve it for rare occasions.

We may apportion to our slaves (1) work, (2) 3
chastisement, and (3) food. If men are given food, but no chastisement nor any work, they become insolent. If they are made to work, and are chastised, but stinted of their food, such treatment is oppressive, and saps their strength. The remaining alternative, therefore, is to give them work, and a sufficiency of food. Unless we pay men, we cannot control them; and food is a slave's pay.

Slaves, again, are no exception to the rule that men become worse when better conduct is not followed by better treatment, but virtue and vice remain alike unrewarded. Accordingly we must keep watch 4
over our workers, suiting our dispensations and indulgences to their desert; whether it be food or clothing, leisure or chastisement that we are apportioning. Both in theory and in practice we must take for our model a physician's freedom in prescribing his medicines; observing at the same time that food differs from medicine in that it requires to be constantly administered.

The best labourers will be furnished by those races 5
of mankind which are neither wholly spiritless nor yet overbold. Each extreme has its vice; the spiritless cannot endure hard labour, and the high-spirited will not readily brook control.

1344 b
Χρὴ δὲ καὶ τέλος ὡρίσθαι πᾶσιν· δίκαιον γὰρ 6
καὶ συμφέρον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κεῖσθαι ἆθλον· βούλονται γὰρ πονεῖν, ὅταν ᾖ ἆθλον καὶ ὁ χρόνος ὡρισμένος. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐξομηρεύειν ταῖς τεκνοποιίαις· καὶ μὴ κτᾶσθαι ὁμοεθνεῖς πολλούς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν· καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀπολαύσεις μᾶλλον τῶν δούλων ἕνεκα ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. πλείονα γὰρ ἔχουσιν οὗτοι οὗπερ ἕνεκα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐνομίσθη.

VI. Εἴδη δὲ τοῦ οἰκονόμου τέτταρα, ἃ δεῖ ἔχειν περὶ τὰ χρήματα. καὶ γὰρ τὸ κτᾶσθαι δυνατὸν χρὴ εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδὲν ὄφελος τοῦ κτᾶσθαι· τῷ γὰρ ἠθμῷ ἀντλεῖν τοῦτ' ἐστιν, καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος τετρημένος πίθος. ἔτι δὲ καὶ εἶναι κοσμητικὸν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ χρηστικόν· τούτων γὰρ ἕνεκα κἀκείνων δεόμεθα.

Διῃρῆσθαι δὲ δεῖ τῶν κτημάτων ἕκαστον, καὶ 2
πλείω τὰ κάρπιμα εἶναι τῶν ἀκάρπων, καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας οὕτω νενεμῆσθαι, ὅπως μὴ ἅμα κινδυνεύσωσιν ἅπασιν. πρὸς δὲ φυλακὴν τοῖς τε Περσικοῖς συμφέρει χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς. καὶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ δὲ οἰκονομία χρήσιμος· ἀποδιδόμενοι γὰρ ὠνοῦνται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ταμιείου θέσις οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς μικροτέραις οἰκονομίαις.

Περσικὰ δὲ ἦν τὸ πάντα τετάχθαι, καὶ πάντ' 3

Every slave should have before his eyes a definite 6
goal or term of his labour. To set the prize of freedom before him is both just and expedient; since having a prize to work for, and a time defined for its attainment, he will put his heart into his labours. We should, moreover, take hostages ⟨for our slaves' fidelity⟩ by allowing them to beget children; and avoid the practice of purchasing many slaves of the same nationality, as men avoid doing in towns. We should also keep festivals and give treats, more on the slaves' account than on that of the freemen; since the free have a fuller share in those enjoyments for the sake of which these institutions exist.

VI. There are four qualities which the head of a household must possess in dealing with his property. Firstly, he must have the faculty of acquiring, and secondly that of preserving what he has acquired; otherwise there is no more benefit in acquiring than in baling with a colander, or in the proverbial wine-jar with a hole in the bottom. Thirdly and fourthly, he must know how to improve his property, and how to make use of it; since these are the ends for which the powers of acquisition and of preservation are sought.

Everything we possess should be duly classified; 2
and the amount of our productive property exceed that of the unproductive. Produce should be so employed that we do not risk all our possessions at once. For the safe keeping of our property, we shall do well to adopt the Persian and Laconian systems. Athenian housecraft has, however, some advantages. The Athenian buys immediately with the produce of his sales, and the smaller households keep no idle deposits in store.

Under the Persian system, the master himself 3

1344 b ἐφορᾶν αὐτόν, καὶ ὃ ἔλεγε Δίων περὶ Διονυσίου· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖται ὁμοίως τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ 1345 a τῶν οἰκείων, ὥστε ὅσα ἐνδέχεται, δι' ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι χρὴ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Λίβυος ἀπόφθεγμα εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐρωτηθεὶς τί μάλιστα ἵππον πιαίνει, "ὁ τοῦ δεσπότου ὀφθαλμὸς" ἔφη· ὁ δὲ Λίβυς ἐρωτηθεὶς ποία κόπρος ἀρίστη, "τὰ τοῦ δεσπότου ἴχνη" ἔφη.

4 Ἐπισκεπτέον οὖν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν τὰ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα, ὡς ἑκατέροις διαιρεῖται τὰ ἔργα τῆς οἰκονομίας. καὶ τοῦτο ποιητέον ἐν μικραῖς οἰκονομίαις ὀλιγάκις, ἐν δ' ἐπιτροπευομέναις πολλάκις. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε μὴ καλῶς ὑποδεικνύντος καλῶς μιμεῖσθαι, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὔτ' ἐν ἐπιτροπείᾳ· ὡς ἀδύνατον μὴ ἐπιμελῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιμελεῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας.

5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ καλὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ὠφέλιμα πρὸς οἰκονομίαν, ἐγείρεσθαι χρὴ πρότερον δεσπότας οἰκετῶν καὶ καθεύδειν ὕστερον, καὶ μηδέποτε ἀφύλακτον οἰκίαν εἶναι, ὥσπερ πόλιν, ὅσα τε δεῖ ποιεῖν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας παριέναι. τό τε διανίστασθαι νύκτωρ· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ οἰκονομίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν χρήσιμον.

6 Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς μικραῖς κτήσεσιν ὁ Ἀττικὸς τρόπος τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν ἐπικαρπιῶν χρήσιμος· ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις διαμερισθέντων καὶ τῶν πρὸς

[a] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 12 (end).

undertook the entire disposition and supervision of the household, following the practice which Dion used to remark in Dionysius. No one, indeed, takes the same care of another's property as of his own; so that, as far as is possible, each man ought to attend to his affairs in person. We may commend also a pair of sayings, one attributed to a Persian and the other to a Libyan. The former on being asked what best conditions a horse, replied "His master's eye."[a] The Libyan, when asked what kind of manure is best, answered "The master's footprints."

The master and mistress should, therefore, give personal supervision, each to his or her special department of the household work. In small households, an occasional inspection will suffice; in estates managed through stewards, inspections must be frequent. For in stewardship as in other matters there can be no good copy without a good example; and if the master and mistress do not attend diligently to their estate, their deputies will certainly not do so. 4

Moreover, as such habits are both commendable for moral reasons and also conducive to good management, the master and mistress will do well to rise earlier than their servants and to retire later; to treat their home as a city, and never leave it unguarded; nor ever, by night or by day, to postpone a task which ought to be done. Rising before daylight is also to be commended; it is a healthy habit, and gives more time for the management of the household as well as for liberal studies. 5

We have remarked that on small holdings the Athenian method of disposing of the produce is advantageous. On large estates, after the amount for the year's or the month's outlay has been set 6

1345 a
ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τῶν κατὰ μῆνα δαπανωμένων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ σκευῶν χρήσεως τῶν καθʼ ἡμέραν καὶ τῶν ὀλιγάκις, ταῦτα παραδοτέον τοῖς ἐφεστῶσιν. ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν αὐτῶν διά τινος χρόνου ποιητέον, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ τὸ σῳζόμενον καὶ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον.

Οἰκίαν δὲ πρός τε τὰ κτήματα ἀποβλέποντα 7
κατασκευαστέον καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ πρὸς εὐημερίαν αὐτῶν· λέγω δὲ κτήματα μέν, οἷον καρποῖς καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποία συμφέρει, καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ποία ξηροῖς καὶ ποία ὑγροῖς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ποία ἐμψύχοις καὶ ποία ἀψύχοις καὶ δούλοις κα ἐλευθέροις καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ξένοις καὶ ἀστοῖς. καὶ πρὸς εὐημερίαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν δεῖ εἶναι,[1] εὔπνουν μὲν τοῦ θέρους, εὐήλιον δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος.

Εἴη δʼ ἂν ἡ τοιαύτη κατάβορρος οὖσα καὶ μὴ 8
ἰσοπλατής. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις οἰκονομίαις χρήσιμος εἶναι θυρωρός, ὃς ἂν ᾖ ἄχρηστος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων, πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν εἰσ-
1345 b
φερομένων καὶ ἐκφερομένων. πρὸς εὐχρηστίαν δὲ σκευῶν τὸ Λακωνικόν· χρὴ γὰρ ἓν ἕκαστον ἐν τῇ αὑτοῦ χώρᾳ κεῖσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἕτοιμον ὂν οὐ ζητοῖτο.

[1] I omit the comma in translating.

apart, it should be handed to the overseers; and so also with implements, whether for daily or for occasional use. In addition, an inspection of implements and stores should be made periodically, so that remainders and deficiencies may alike be noted.

In constructing a homestead, we have to provide 7
for the stock which it is to shelter, and for its health and well-being. Providing for the stock involves questions such as these: What type of building is best for the storage of crops and of clothing? How are we to store the dry crops, and how the moist ones? Of the other stock, how is the living to be housed, and how the dead? and what accommodation are we to make for slaves and free, for women and men, for foreigners and fellow-citizens? For well-being and health, again, the homestead should be airy in summer, and sunny in winter.

A homestead possessing these qualities would be 8
longer than it is deep; and its main front would face the south. On large estates, moreover, it seems worth while to instal as porter a man incapable of other work, to keep his eye on what passes in and out. That implements may be ready for use, the Laconian practice should be followed. Each should be kept in its own place; thus it will always be to hand, and not require seeking.

B

1345 b I. Τὸν οἰκονομεῖν μέλλοντά τι κατὰ τρόπον τῶν τε τόπων, περὶ οὓς ἂν πραγματεύηται, μὴ ἀπείρως ἔχειν, καὶ τῇ φύσει εὐφυῆ εἶναι καὶ τῇ προαιρέσει φιλόπονόν τε καὶ δίκαιον· ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν ἀπῇ τούτων τῶν μερῶν, πολλὰ διαμαρτήσεται περὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ἣν μεταχειρίζεται.

Οἰκονομίαι δέ εἰσι τέσσαρες, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ διελέσθαι (τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας εἰς τοῦτο ἐμπιπτούσας εὑρήσομεν), βασιλικὴ σατραπικὴ πολιτικὴ ἰδιωτική.

Τούτων δὲ μεγίστη μὲν καὶ ἁπλουστάτη ἡ 2
βασιλική, . . .,[1] ποικιλωτάτη δὲ καὶ ῥᾴστη ἡ πολιτική, ἐλαχίστη δὲ καὶ ποικιλωτάτη ἡ ἰδιωτική. ἐπικοινωνεῖν μὲν τὰ πολλὰ ἀλλήλαις ἀναγκαῖον ἐστίν· ὅσα δὲ μάλιστα δι' αὐτῶν ἑκάστῃ συμβαίνει, ταῦτα ἐπισκεπτέον ἡμῖν ἐστιν.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἴδωμεν. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη δυναμένη μὲν τὸ καθόλου, εἴδη δὲ ἔχουσα τέσσαρα, περὶ νόμισμα, περὶ τὰ ἐξαγώγιμα, περὶ τὰ εἰσαγώγιμα, περὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα.

Τούτων δὲ ἕκαστον [μὲν] περὶ . . . τὸ νόμισμα 3

[1] Reading, after *βασιλική*, <*μεγίστη δὲ καὶ ποικιλωτάτη ἡ σατραπική*> (Susemihl, following Goettling).

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[a] Or, " the localities wherein we work."

BOOK II

I. Right administration of a household demands in the first place familiarity with the sphere of one's action[a]; in the second place, good natural endowments; and in the third, an upright and industrious way of life. For the lack of any one of these qualifications will involve many a failure in the task one takes in hand.

Of such administrations there are four main types, under which all others may be classified. We have the administration of a king; of the governors under him; of a free state; and of a private citizen.

Of these, that of a king is the most extensive, yet 2
at the same time the simplest. A governor's office is also very extensive, but divided into a great variety of departments. The administration of a free state is again very varied, but it is the easiest to conduct; while that of a private individual presents the like variety, but within limits which are narrowest of all. For the most part, all four will of necessity cover the same ground; we will, however, take them in turn, and see what is especially characteristic of each.

Taking first the royal administration, we see that while theoretically its power is unlimited, it is in practice concerned with four departments, namely currency, exports, imports, and expenditure.

Taking these severally, I assign to that of currency 3

1345 b
λέγω[1] ποῖον καὶ πότε τίμιον ἢ εὔωνον ποιητέον, περὶ δὲ τὰ ἐξαγώγιμα καὶ εἰσαγώγιμα πότε καὶ τίνα παρὰ τῶν σατραπῶν ἐν τῇ ταγῇ ἐκλαβόντι αὐτῷ λυσιτελήσει διατίθεσθαι, περὶ δὲ τὰ ἀναλώματα τίνα περιαιρετέον καὶ πότε, καὶ πότερον δοτέον νόμισμα εἰς τὰς δαπάνας, ἢ ἃ τῷ νομίσματι ὤνια.

Δεύτερον δὲ τὴν σατραπικήν. ἔστι δὲ ταύτης 4
εἴδη ἓξ τῶν προσόδων, ἀπὸ γῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἰδίων γινομένων, ἀπὸ ἐμπορίων,[2] ἀπὸ τελῶν, ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων.

Αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων πρώτη μὲν καὶ κρατίστη ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐκφόριον οἱ δὲ δεκάτην προσαγορεύουσιν), δευτέρα ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων γινομένη, οὗ μὲν χρυσίον, οὗ δὲ ἀργύριον, οὗ δὲ χαλκός, οὗ δὲ ὁπόσα δύναται γίνεσθαι, τρίτη
1346 a δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπορίων,[3] τετάρτη δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ ἀγοραίων τελῶν γινομένη, πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν βοσκημάτων, ἐπικαρπία τε καὶ δεκάτη καλουμένη, ἕκτη δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπικεφάλαιόν τε καὶ χειρωνάξιον προσαγορευομένη.

Τρίτον δὲ τὴν πολιτικήν. ταύτης δε κρατίστη 5
μὲν πρόσοδος ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γινομένων, εἶτα ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπορίων[3] καὶ διαγωγῶν,[4] εἶτα ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων.

[1] Reading τούτων δὲ ἕκαστον, περὶ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα λέγω (Susemihl, after Bekker).

[2] Or (after Schneider and Bonitz) ἐμποριῶν, "merchandise" (MSS. ἐμπόρων, "traders").

[3] Or ἐμποριῶν, "merchandise" (several MSS.).

[4] διαγωγῶν is Boeckh's conjecture for MS. δι' ἀγώνων. (Boeckh however takes the word to signify "tolls" or "wayleaves"; as in Polybius iv. 52 διαγώγιον.

the seasonable regulation of prices ; to imports and exports, the profitable disposition, at any given time, of the dues received from provincial governors ; and to expenditure, the reduction of outgoings as occasion may serve, and the question of meeting expenses by currency or by commodities.

The second kind of administration, that of the governor, is concerned with six different classes of revenue ; those, namely, arising from agriculture, from the special products of the country, from markets, from taxes, from cattle, and from other sources. 4

Taking these in turn, the first and most important of them is revenue from agriculture, which some call tithe and some produce-tax.[a] The second is that from special products ; in one place gold, in another silver, in another copper, and so on. Third in importance is revenue from markets, and fourth that which arises from taxes on land and on sales. In the fifth place we have revenue from cattle, called tithe or first-fruits ; and in the sixth, revenue from other sources, which we term poll-tax, or tax on industry.

Of our third kind of administration, that of a free state, the most important revenue is that arising from the special products of the country. Next follows revenue from markets and occupations ; and finally that from every-day transactions.[b] 5

[a] Boeckh translates ἐκφόριον "Grundsteuer." But how then does it differ from τῶν κατὰ γῆν τελῶν below ?

[b] Or (understanding λειτουργιῶν) "regular public services."

1346 a

6 Τέταρτον δὲ καὶ τελευταῖον τὴν ἰδιωτικήν. αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἀνώμαλος μὲν διὰ τὸ δεῖν μὴ πρὸς ἕνα σκοπὸν οἰκονομεῖν, ἐλαχίστη δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰς προσόδους καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα βραχέα γίνεσθαι. αὐτῆς δὲ ταύτης κρατίστη μὲν πρόσοδος ἡ ἀπὸ γῆς γινομένη, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκλημάτων,[1] τρίτη δὲ ἡ ἀπὸ ἀργυρίου. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ὃ πάσαις μὲν ἐπικοινωνεῖται ταῖς οἰκονομίαις, καὶ προσήκει σκοπεῖν αὐτὸ μὴ παρέργως, μάλιστα δὲ ταύτῃ, τὸ τἀναλώματα μὴ μείζω τῶν προσόδων γίνεσθαι.

7 Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὰς διαιρέσεις εἰρήκαμεν, μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν νοητέον ἡμῖν, ἡ σατραπεία, περὶ ἣν ἂν πραγματευώμεθα, ἢ πόλις, πότερον ἃ πάντα ἄρτι διειλόμεθα ἢ τὰ μέγιστα τούτων εἰ δυνατὴ φέρειν ἐστί, . . .[2] τούτοις χρηστέον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ποῖαι τῶν προσόδων ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ εἰσί, δυναταὶ δ' εἰσὶ γενέσθαι, ἢ μικραὶ νῦν οὖσαι μείζους οἷαί τινες κατασκευασθῆναι, ἢ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων τῶν νῦν ἀναλουμένων, τίνα τε καὶ πόσα περιαιρεθέντα ⟨τὰ⟩[3] ὅλα μηθὲν βλάψει.

8 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας τε καὶ τὰ μέρη τὰ τούτων εἰρήκαμεν· ὅσα δέ τινες τῶν πρότερον πεπράγασιν εἰς πόρον χρημάτων ἢ τεχνικῶς τι διῴκησαν, ἃ ὑπελαμβάνομεν ἀξιόλογα αὐτῶν εἶναι, συναγηόχαμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ταύτην τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀ-

[1] Reading ἐγκυκλημάτων (3rd Basle edition) for MS. ἐγκλημάτων, ἐγκλιμάτων, ἐγ . . . μάτων.

[2] If τούτοις χρηστέον be read, some addition must be made to complete the sense. The words are, however, omitted by several MSS. If they are left untranslated the sentence ends at "them." Susemihl suggests a lacuna before τούτοις.

[3] ⟨τὰ⟩ inserted by Keil.

Fourthly and lastly, we must consider the administration of a private citizen. It is difficult to reduce this to rules owing to the necessary variety of its aims; yet it is the most limited of the four, because both revenues and expenses are ⟨comparatively⟩ small. Taking its revenues in turn, the chief are those from agriculture; next in importance, those from other every-day occupations; while third comes interest on money. Apart from all these, there is a matter common to all kinds of administration which is best considered at this particular point, and deserves more than cursory attention. This is the importance of keeping expenditure within the limits of revenue. 6

Having thus enumerated the divisions of our subject, we must next consider whether the province or the free state with which we are concerned is able to produce all the forms of revenue we have just detailed or at least the chief of them; ⟨and this being known⟩ must make the best use of what we have. Next we must inquire what kinds of revenue, at present wholly lacking, are yet potentially existent; what kinds, though now small, may with care be increased; and how far certain items of present expenditure may without prejudice to the commonwealth be diminished. 7

Having spoken thus of administrations and their various departments, we have further proceeded to collect such instances as we deemed noteworthy of the means adopted by certain statesmen in times past for the replenishment of the treasury, and also of their skill in administration. These anecdotes ⟨which 8

1346 a χρεῖον ὑπελαμβάνομεν εἶναι. ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε τούτων ἐφαρμόσει τοῖς οἷα ἂν αὐτὸς πραγματεύηται.[1]

II. Κύψελος ὁ Κορίνθιος εὐξάμενος τῷ Διί, ἐὰν κύριος γένηται τῆς πόλεως, τὰ ὄντα Κορινθίοις
1346 b πάντα ἀναθήσειν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἀπογράψασθαι, ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ τούτων τὸ δέκατον μέρος παρ᾿ ἑκάστου ἔλαβε, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἐργάζεσθαι. περιελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ὥστε συνέβαινεν ἐν δέκα ἔτεσι κεῖνόν τε ἅπαντα ἔχειν, ἅπερ ἀνιέρωσεν, τούς τε Κορινθίους ἕτερα κεκτῆσθαι.

Λύγδαμις Νάξιος ἐκβαλὼν φυγάδας, ἐπειδὴ τὰ 2 κτήματα αὐτῶν οὐθεὶς ἠθέλησεν ἀλλ᾿ ἢ βραχέος ἀγοράζειν, αὐτοῖς τοῖς φυγάσιν ἀπέδοτο. τά τε ἀναθήματα, ὅσα ἦν αὐτῶν ἔν τισιν ἐργαστηρίοις ἡμίεργα ἀνακείμενα, ἐπώλει τοῖς τε φυγάσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ βουλομένῳ ὥστ᾿ ἐπιγραφῆναι τὸ τοῦ πριαμένου ὄνομα.

Βυζάντιοι δὲ δεηθέντες χρημάτων τὰ τεμένη τὰ 3 δημόσια ἀπέδοντο, τὰ μὲν κάρπιμα χρόνον τινά, τὰ δὲ ἄκαρπα ἀεννάως, τά τε θιασωτικὰ καὶ τὰ πατριωτικὰ ὡσαύτως, καὶ ὅσα ἐν χωρίοις ἰδιωτικοῖς ἦν· ὠνοῦντο γὰρ πολλοῦ ὧν ἦν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο κτῆμα. τοῖς δὲ θιασώταις ἕτερα χωρία[2] τὰ δημόσια, ὅσα ἦν περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον ἢ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ

[1] Reading τι after τούτων and τις οἷς for τοῖς οἷα (see Susemihl's note).
[2] A verb is omitted in the Greek.

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[a] See the seventh Speech of the Athenian orator Lysias.

follow⟩, seemed to us by no means lacking in utility; being capable from time to time of application by others to the business they themselves have in hand.

II. Cypselus of Corinth had made a vow that if he became master of the city, he would offer to Zeus the entire property of the Corinthians. Accordingly he commanded them to make a return of their possessions; which done, he took from each a tenth part, and told them to employ the remainder in trading. A year later, he repeated the process. And so in ten years' time it came to pass that Cypselus received the entire amount which he had dedicated; while the Corinthians on their part had replaced all that they had paid him.

Lygdamis of Naxos, after driving into exile a party 2
of the inhabitants, found that no one would give him a fair price for their property. He therefore sold it to the exiled owners. The exiles had left behind them a number of works of art destined for temple offerings, which lay in certain workshops in an unfinished condition. These Lygdamis proceeded to sell to the exiles and whoso else would buy them; allowing each purchaser to have his name engraved on the offering.

The people of Byzantium, being in need of funds, [redacted]
sold such dedicated lands as belonged to the State; those under crops, for a term of years, and those uncultivated, in perpetuity. In like manner they sold lands appropriated to religious celebrations or ancestral cults, not excepting those that were on private estates[a]; for the owners of the surrounding land were ready to give a high price for them. To the dispossessed celebrants ⟨they assigned⟩ such other public lands surrounding the gymnasium, the

1346 b
τὸν λιμένα,[1] τούς τε τόπους τοὺς ἀγοραίους, ἐν οἷς ἐπώλει τίς τι· καὶ τῆς θαλάττης τὴν ἁλιείαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁλῶν ἁλ[ατ]οπωλίαν, τῶν τ' ἐργαζομένων θαυματοποιῶν καὶ μάντεων καὶ φαρμακοπωλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιουτοτρόπων . . .[2]· τὸ τρίτον δὲ μέρος τοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἀποτελεῖν ἔταξαν. τῶν τε νομισμάτων τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἀπέδοντο μιᾷ τραπέζῃ· ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐκ ἦν οὐθενὶ οὔτε ἀποδόσθαι ἑτέρῳ οὔτε πρίασθαι παρ' ἑτέρου· εἰ δὲ μή, στέρησις ἦν.

Ὄντος δὲ νόμου αὐτοῖς μὴ εἶναι πολίτην ὃς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀστῶν ἀμφοτέρων ᾖ, χρημάτων δεηθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο τὸν ἐξ ἑνὸς ὄντα ἀστοῦ[3] καταβαλόντα μνᾶς τριάκοντα εἶναι πολίτην.

Ἐν σιτοδείᾳ δὲ γενόμενοι καὶ ἀποροῦντες χρημάτων κατήγαγον τὰ πλοῖα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου· χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀγανακτούντων ἐτέλουν αὐτοῖς τόκους ἐπιδεκάτους· τοῖς δ' ὠνουμένοις τι ἔταξαν χωρὶς τῆς τιμῆς διδόναι τὸ ἐπιδέκατον.

1347 a Μετοίκων δέ τινων ἐπιδεδανεικότων ἐπὶ κτήμασιν, οὐκ οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἐγκτήσεως[4] ἐψηφίσαντο τὸ τρίτον μέρος εἰσφέροντα τοῦ δανείου τὸν βουλόμενον κυρίως ἔχειν τὸ κτῆμα.

Ἱππίας [ὁ] Ἀθηναῖος τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τῶν ὑπε- 4

[1] I transpose this comma and the colon in the next line.

[2] Reading τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐδήμευσαν, (?) after τοιουτοτρόπων.

[3] ἀστοῦ (for αὐτοῦ MSS.) is restored by Sylburg from the Latin version c.

[4] ἐγκτήσεως is Schneider's correction of MS. ἐκτίσεως, ἐκτήσεως, or ἐκκτήσεως.

agora, or the harbour, as belonged to the State. Moreover they claimed as public property all open spaces where anything was sold, together with the sea-fisheries, the traffic in salt, and the trade of professional conjurors, soothsayers, charm-sellers, and the like; exacting from all these one-third of their gains. The right of changing money they sold to a single bank, whose proprietor was given a monopoly of the sale and purchase of coin, protected under penalty of confiscation.

And whereas previously the rights of citizenship were by law confined to those whose parents were both citizens, lack of funds induced them to offer citizenship to him who had one citizen parent on payment of the sum of thirty *minae*.[a]

On another occasion, when food and funds were both scarce, they called home all vessels that were trading in the Pontus. On the merchants protesting, they were at length allowed to trade on payment of a tithe of their profits. This tax of 10 per cent was also extended to purchases of every kind.

It happened that certain aliens residing in the city had lent money on the security of citizens' property. As these aliens did not possess the right of holding such property, the people offered to recognize the title of anyone who chose to pay into the treasury one third of the amount secured.

Hippias of Athens offered for sale upper stories that 4

[a] A *mina* of silver (1lb. 5 oz. avoirdupois) was coined into 100 *drachmae*, each being an artisan's ordinary daily wage.

1347 a ρῴων εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς καὶ τὰ προφράγματα καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς ἀνοιγομένας ἔξω ἐπώλησεν· ὠνοῦντο οὖν ὧν ἦν τὰ κτήματα, καὶ συνελέγη χρήματα οὕτω συχνά.

Τό τε νόμισμα τὸ ὂν Ἀθηναίοις ἀδόκιμον ἐποίησε, τάξας δὲ τιμὴν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακομίζειν· συνελθόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κόψαι ἕτερον χαρακτῆρα, ἐξέδωκε τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργύριον.

Ὅσοι τε τριηραρχεῖν ἢ φυλαρχεῖν ἢ χορηγεῖν ἤ τινα εἰς ἑτέραν λειτουργίαν τοιαύτην ἤμελλον δαπανᾶν, τίμημα τάξας μέτριον ἐκέλευσε τὸν βουλόμενον ἀποτίσαντα τοῦτο ἐγγράφεσθαι εἰς τοὺς λελειτουργηκότας.

Τῇ τε ἱερείᾳ τῇ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλει ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος φέρειν χοίνικα κριθῶν καὶ πυρῶν ἑτέραν καὶ ὀβολόν, καὶ ὅτῳ ἂν παιδάριον γένηται, τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ οἰκοῦντες δεόμενοι χρημάτων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπογράψασθαι ἅπασι συνέταξαν τὰς οὐσίας, μὴ ἀθρόας εἰς τὸν αὑτοῦ δῆμον ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κτῆμα ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἕκαστον εἴη, ἵνα οἱ πένητες δύνωνται ὑποτιμᾶσθαι· ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ ἦν κτῆμα μηθέν, τὸ σῶμα διμναῖον τιμήσασθαι. ἀπὸ τούτων οὖν εἰσέφερον τὸ ἐπιγραφὲν ἕκαστος σῷον τῇ πόλει.

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[a] *Cf.* Goethe, *Wahrheit und Dichtung*, Book I. "In Frankfurt, as in several ancient cities, those who had erected wooden buildings had sought to obtain more room by allowing the first and higher floors to overhang the street. . . . At last a law was carried that in all entirely new houses the first floor alone should project; above that, the wall should be perpendicular."

The poet's father, wishing to rebuild his house without

projected over the public streets,[a] together with flights of steps, railings, and doors that opened outwards. The owners of the buildings bought them, and in this way a large sum of money was collected.

He also called in[b] the existing currency, promising to pay the holders at a fixed rate. But when they came to receive the new mintage, he reissued the old coins.

Those who were expecting to equip a war-vessel or preside over a tribe or train a chorus or undertake the expense of some other public service of the kind, he allowed, if they chose, to commute the service for a moderate sum, and to be enrolled on the list of those who had performed it.

Moreover, whenever a citizen died, the priestess of the temple of Athena on the Acropolis[c] was to receive one quart measure of barley, one of wheat, and a silver *obolus*.[d] And when a child was born, the father paid the same dues.

The Athenian colonists at Potidaea, being in need 5
of funds for the war, agreed that all should make a return of their property for assessment of tax. But instead of each returning the entire amount to his own parish, properties were to be assessed separately, each in its own locality, so that the poor might propose a reduced assessment; while those without any ⟨landed⟩ property were assessed at two *minae* a head. On these assessments each man paid the State the full amount of the war-tax.

sacrifice of floor-space, underpinned the upper stories and renewed the building piecemeal from below. *Cf.* also § 14.

[b] Lit. "rendered invalid."

[c] This was the public treasury, like the Temple of Saturnus at Rome.

[d] $\frac{1}{6}$ of the *drachma* § 3 above.

6 ⟨Σωσίπολις⟩[1] Ἀντισσαῖος [δέ], δεηθείσης τῆς πόλεως χρημάτων, εἰθισμένων [δὲ] αὐτῶν λαμπρῶς ἄγειν Διονύσια, ἐν οἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἀνήλισκον ἐξ ἐνιαυτοῦ παρασκευάζοντες, καὶ ἱερεῖα πολυτελῆ, ὑπογύου δὲ οὔσης ταύτης τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς τῷ μὲν Διονύσῳ εὔξασθαι ἐς νέωτα ἀποδώσειν διπλάσια, ταῦτα δὲ συναγαγόντας ἀποδόσθαι. συνελέγη οὖν αὐτοῖς χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν.

7 Λαμψακηνοὶ δὲ προσδοκίμων οὐσῶν τριήρων πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὄντος μεδίμνου τῶν ἀλφίτων τετραδράχμου, προσέταξαν τοῖς ἀγοραίοις πωλεῖν ἑξάδραχμον, καὶ τοῦ ἐλαίου τὸν χοᾶ ὄντα δραχμῶν ⟨τριῶν⟩,[2] τεττάρων καὶ τριωβόλου, τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσαύτως. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχαίαν τιμὴν ἐλάμβανεν ὁ ἰδιώτης, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἡ πόλις, καὶ εὐπόρησε χρημάτων.

8 Ἡρακλεῶται πέμποντες ναῦς τεσσαράκοντα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Βοσπόρῳ τυράννους, οὐκ εὐπορούμενοι χρημάτων παρὰ τῶν ἐμπόρων συνηγόρασαν τόν τε σῖτον πάντα καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγορὰν χρόνου διισταμένου ἐν ᾧ ἔμελλον ἀποδώσειν τὴν τιμήν. τοῖς τε δὴ ἐμπόροις καλῶς εἶχε μὴ κοτυλίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόα τὰ φορτία πεπρᾶσθαι, ἐκεῖνοί τε διδόντες δι' ἄλλην οὐ[3] μισθὸν παρῆγον [ἀλλὰ] τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐν ὁλκάσι, ⟨καὶ⟩ ἄνδρα ταμίαν ἐπέστησαν ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν νεῶν. ἀφ-

[1] The name, omitted in the Greek mss., is supplied from the Latin version *c*.

[2] ⟨τριῶν⟩ is inserted by Boeckh.

[3] Reading διμήνου (Kirchhoff) for ms. δι' ἄλλην οὐ.

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[a] Or "All through the year."

The city of Antissa had been accustomed to celebrate the festival of Dionysus with great magnificence. Year by year[a] great provision was made for the occasion, and costly sacrifices were prepared. Now one year the city found itself in need of funds; and shortly before the festival, on the proposal of a citizen named Sosipolis, the people after vowing that they would next year offer to Dionysus a double amount, collected all that had been provided and sold it. In this way they realized a large sum of money to meet their necessity. 6

On one occasion the people of Lampsacus were expecting to be attacked by a large fleet of triremes.[b] The price of barley meal being then four drachmae for a bushel and a half, they instructed the retailers to sell it at six drachmae. Oil, which was at three drachmae for six pints, was to be sold at four drachmae and a half, and wine and other commodities at a proportionate increase. In this way the retailer got the original price, while the State took the addition and filled its treasury. 7

The people of Heraclea, being about to dispatch a fleet of forty ships against the lords of Bosporus, were at a loss for the necessary funds. They therefore bought up all the merchants' stock of corn and oil and wine and other marketable commodities, agreeing to pay at a future date. The merchants were well satisfied that they had disposed of their cargoes without breaking bulk; and the people, advancing two months' pay to their armament, sent along with it a fleet of merchant-vessels laden with the commodities, every ship being in charge of a public official. When 8

[b] War-ships, each propelled by some 174 rowers ranked in three tiers.

1347 b ικομένων δ᾿ εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν αὐτῶν ἠγόραζον οἱ στρατιῶται παρὰ τούτων ἅπαντα. πρότερον ⟨οὖν⟩ συνελέγη ἀργύριον ἢ[1] ἐδίδοσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάλιν τὸν μισθόν, ὥστε συνέβαινε ταὐτὸ [τὸ][2] ἀργύριον δίδοσθαι ἕως εἰς οἶκον ἀπῆλθον.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι Σαμίων δεηθέντων χρήματα αὐτοῖς 9
εἰς τὴν κάθοδον δοῦναι, ἐψηφίσαντο μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια νηστεῦσαι, ὅσον δὲ ἐδαπάνα ἕκαστος, τοσοῦτον δοῦναι τοῖς Σαμίοις.

Χαλκηδόνιοι δέ, ξένων ἐν τῇ πόλει συχνῶν παρ᾿ 10
αὐτοῖς γινομένων, ὀφείλοντες αὐτοῖς μισθὸν οὐκ ἠδύναντο διαλῦσαι. ἀνήγγειλαν οὖν, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ μετοίκων σῦλον ἔχει κατὰ πόλεως ἢ ἰδιώτου καὶ βούλεται λαβεῖν, ἀπογράψασθαι. ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ συχνῶν, τὰ πλοῖα τὰ πλέοντα εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἐσύλων μετὰ προφάσεως εὐλόγου. ἔταξαν δὲ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔφασαν ποιήσασθαι. συλλεγέντων δὲ χρημάτων συχνῶν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἀπήλλαξαν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν σύλων διεδικάσαντο. τοῖς δὲ μὴ δικαίως συληθεῖσιν ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων ἀπεδίδου.

Κυζικηνοὶ δὲ στασιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 11
ἐπικρατήσαντος τοῦ δήμου, τῶν δὲ πλουσίων συνειλημμένων, ὀφείλοντες χρήματα στρατιώταις

[1] Reading πρότερον οὖν συνελέγη τἀργύριον ἢ (Schneider's correction of πρότερον συνελέγη ἢ ἀργύριον, the reading of most MSS.).

[2] τὸ bracketed by Schneider.

the expedition reached its goal, the men purchased from these officials all they needed. In this way, the money was collected before the leaders again paid their men; so that the same payment sufficed until the expedition returned home.

When the Samians entreated the Lacedaemonians 9
for money to enable them to return to their country, the Lacedaemonians passed a resolution that they and their servants and their beasts of burden should go without food for one day; and that the expense each one thus saved should be given to the Samians.

The people of Chalcedon had a large number of 10
mercenary troops in their city, to whom they could not pay the wages they owed. Accordingly they made proclamation that anyone, either citizen or alien, who had right of reprisal against any city or individual, and wished to exercise it, should have his name entered on a list. A large number of names was enrolled, and the people thus obtained a specious pretext for exercising reprisal upon ships that were passing on their way to the Pontus. They accordingly arrested the ships and fixed a period within which they would consider any claims that might be made in respect of them. Having now a large fund in hand, they paid off the mercenaries, and set up a tribunal to decide the claims; and those whose goods had been unjustly seized were compensated out of the revenues of the state.

At Cyzicus, civil strife broke out between the 11
democratic and oligarchic parties. The former proved victorious, and the rich citizens were placed under arrest. But as the city owed money to its troops, a

1347 b ἐψηφίσαντο μὴ θανατῶσαι τοὺς συνειλημμένους,
ἀλλὰ χρήματα πραξαμένους φυγαδεῦσαι.

Χῖοι δέ, νόμου ὄντος αὐτοῖς ἀπογράφεσθαι τὰ 12
χρέα εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, δεηθέντες χρημάτων ἐψηφί-
1348 a σαντο τοὺς ὀφείλοντας μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει τὰ
δάνεια, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐκ τῶν προσόδων τοὺς τόκους
τοῖς δεδανεικόσι καταφέρειν, ἕως ἂν κατὰ[1] τὸ
ἀρχαῖον εὐπορήσωσιν.

Μαύσωλος ὁ Καρίας τύραννος, πέμποντος βασι- 13
λέως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς φόρους δοῦναι, συν-
αγαγὼν τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἔλεγεν ὅτι
ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τοὺς φόρους, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ εὐ-
πορεῖται. κατασκευαστοὶ δ᾿ ἄνδρες αὐτῷ εὐθέως
ἐπηγγέλλοντο, ὅσον εἰσοίσει ἕκαστος. τούτων δὲ
τοῦτο πραξάντων, οἱ εὐπορώτεροι τὰ μὲν αἰσχυνό-
μενοι τὰ δὲ φοβούμενοι πολλῷ τούτων ⟨πλείω⟩[2]
ἐπηγγέλλοντο καὶ εἰσέφερον.

Πάλιν δεηθεὶς χρημάτων ἐξεκκλησιάσας τοῖς
Μυλασσεῦσιν ἔλεγεν ὅτι μητρόπολις οὖσα ἡ πόλις
αὐτοῦ αὕτη ἀτείχιστός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπ᾿
αὐτὸν στρατεύει. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν τοὺς Μυλασσεῖς
φέρειν ἕκαστον ὅτι πλεῖστα χρήματα, φάσκων
αὐτοὺς τοῖς νῦν εἰσενεχθεῖσι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σῴζειν.
εἰσενεχθέντων δὲ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν χρήματα εἶχε, τὸ
δὲ τεῖχος οὐκ ἔφη τὸν θεὸν ⟨ἐᾶν⟩[3] ἐν τῷ παρόντι
οἰκοδομεῖν.

Κόνδαλος Μαυσώλου ὕπαρχος, ὁπότε διαπορευο- 14
μένῳ αὐτῷ διὰ τῆς χώρας προσενέγκοι τις πρόβατον

[1] Or, reading καὶ (Camerarius) for κατὰ, "until it was able to repay the principal as well."

[2] ⟨πλείω⟩ added by the Aldine edition.

[3] ⟨ἐᾶν⟩ inserted by Scaliger.

resolution was passed that the lives of those under arrest should be spared, and that they should be allowed to depart into exile on paying a sum of money to the state.

At Chios there was a law that all debts should be 12
entered on a public register. Being in need of funds, the people resolved that debtors should pay their debts into the treasury, and that the state should meet the creditors' interest out of its revenues until its former prosperity returned.

Mausolus lord of Caria received from the King of 13
Persia [a] a demand for tribute. Therefore he summoned the wealthiest men in his dominion, and told them that the King was asking for the tribute, and he had not the means of paying it. Men whom he had previously suborned at once came forward and declared what each was ready to contribute. With this example before them, they who were wealthier than these, partly in shame and partly in alarm, promised and paid much larger sums than the others.

Being again in lack of funds, Mausolus summoned a public meeting of the people of Mylassa and told them that the King of Persia was preparing to attack him; and that Mylassă his capital city was unfortified. He therefore bade the citizens contribute each as liberally as he could, saying that what they now paid in would afford security to the rest of their possessions. By these means he obtained large contributions. But though he kept the money, he declared that heaven, for the present, forbade the building of the walls.

Condalus, who was a lieutenant-governor under 14
Mausolus, whenever on his progress through the country he was presented with a sheep, a pig, or a

[a] Probably Artaxerxes II. who reigned 405–359 B.C.

1348 a ἢ ὗν ἢ μόσχον, ἀπογραψάμενος τὸν δόντα καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ἀπαγαγόντα εἰς οἶκον ἐκέλευε τρέφειν ἕως ἂν ἐπανέλθοι· ὁπότε δὲ δοκοίη χρόνος ἱκανὸς εἶναι, αὐτό τε τὸ τραφὲν καὶ τὴν ἐπικαρπίαν λογισάμενος ἀπῄτει. τῶν τε δένδρων τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ἢ πίπτοντα εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐπώλει ὡς ἐπικαρπίας.[1]

Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εἴ τις τελευτήσειε, διαπύλιον ἐπώλει δραχμὴν τοῦ σώματος· ἅμα τε οὖν ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἀργύριον ἐλάμβανεν, ἅμα τε οἱ ἡγεμόνες οὐ παρεκρούοντο αὐτόν, πότε τετελεύτηκεν ὁ στρατιώτης.

Τούς τε Λυκίους ὁρῶν ἀγαπῶντας τὸ τρίχωμα φορεῖν, ἔφησε γράμματα ἥκειν παρὰ βασιλέως, κόμας ἀποστεῖλαι εἰς προκόμια, προστετάχθαι οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Μαυσώλου ἀποκεῖραι αὐτούς. ἔφησεν οὖν, εἰ βούλονται ἐπικεφάλαιον τακτὸν αὐτῷ δοῦναι, μεταπέμψασθαι ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κόμην, οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως ἔδοσαν ὃ ᾔτει, καὶ συνελέγη χρήματα πολλὰ ἀπὸ ὄχλου πολλοῦ.

Ἀριστοτέλης Ῥόδιος ἄρχων Φωκαίας, ἀπορῶν 15 χρημάτων, ὁρῶν στάσεις οὔσας δύο τῶν Φωκαίων 1348 b λόγους ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν στάσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις, φάσκων αὐτῷ διδόναι χρήματα τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐφ᾽ ᾧ αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα ἐγκλῖναι, αὐτὸς δὲ μᾶλλον βούλεσθαι παρὰ τούτων λαβεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν τούτοις διοικεῖν παραδοῦναι. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα εὐθέως τὰ χρήματα οἱ παρόντες πορίσαντες ὅσα ἐκέλευσεν ἔδωκαν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἑτέροις πάλιν ἔδειξεν ἃ εἰλῆφὼς εἴη παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων· οἱ

[1] ὡς ἐπικαρπίας is Goettling's emendation for τὰς ἐ. (MSS.).

[a] Mentioned by Proclus in his commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato. A coin of Phocaea is extant bearing the name.

calf, had a record made of the donor's name and of the date. He then bade the man take the beast home and keep it until he should again pass that way. After what he considered a sufficient interval, he would demand the beast together with such profits as he reckoned it had produced. All trees, too, which projected over the king's highway, or fell thereon, he sold as profits accruing to the State.

When one of his soldiers died, he charged a drachma for the right of passing the body through the gates. This was not only a source of revenue, but a check on the commanders, who were thus prevented from falsifying the date of the man's death.

Noticing that the Lycians were fond of wearing their hair long, Condalus proclaimed that a dispatch had arrived from the King ordering him to send hair to make forelocks for his horses; and that Mausolus had therefore instructed him to shave their heads. However, if they would pay him a fixed sum per head, he would send to Greece for hair. They were glad to comply with his demand, and a large sum was collected, the number of those taxed being great.

Aristoteles of Rhodes,[a] when governor of Phocaea, 15
found himself in need of funds. Noticing that there were at Phocaea two opposing parties, he held a secret conference with one of them, at which he declared that the other party was offering him money if he would favour their pretensions; that he, however, preferred to receive from those now before him, and to entrust to them the administration of the city. On hearing this, they immediately contributed the money he asked, and gave it him. Thereupon he told the other party what he had received from them;

1348 b δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν οὐκ ἐλάττω δώσειν. λαβὼν δὲ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων κατήλλαξεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

Τοῖς τε πολίταις κατιδὼν οὔσας δίκας πολλάς, καὶ μεγάλας ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἀδικίας τούτοις διὰ πολέμου, δικαστήριον καθίσας προεῖπεν, ὅσοι ἂν μὴ δικάσωνται χρόνῳ ὃν[1] ἔθηκε, μηκέτι εἶναι ὑπὲρ τῶν προτέρων ἐγκλημάτων κρίσεις. τότε δὴ παραβόλιον[2] πολλῶν δικῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκκλήτους[3] μετ' ἐπιτιμίων ἐφ' αὐτὸν ποιούμενος καὶ παρ' ἑκατέρων ἀργύριον δι' ἑτέρων[4] λαμβάνων, συνήγαγεν οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα.

Κλαζομένιοι δ' ἐν σιτοδείᾳ ὄντες χρημάτων τε 16
ἀποροῦντες ἐψηφίσαντο, παρ' οἷς ἔλαιόν ἐστι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, δανεῖσαι τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τόκῳ· γίνεται δὲ πολὺς οὗτος ὁ καρπὸς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν. δανεισάντων δὲ μισθωσάμενοι πλοῖα ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὰ ἐμπόρια, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἧκε σῖτος, ὑποθήκης γενομένης τῆς τοῦ ἐλαίου τιμῆς.

Ὀφείλοντες στρατιώταις μισθὸν εἴκοσι τάλαντα καὶ οὐ ⟨δοῦναι⟩[5] δυνάμενοι τόκον ἔφερον τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τέτταρα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀρχαίου ἀπέκοπτον οὐθέν, ἀεὶ δὲ μάτην ἐδαπάνων, νόμισμα ἔκοψαν σιδηροῦν εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον εἴκοσι ταλάντων, εἶτα διδόντες τοῖς εὐπορω-

[1] χρόνῳ ὃν is Susemihl's emendation. The MSS. have χρόνον, καὶ χρόνον, or καὶ χρόνων.

[2] παραβόλιον is Susemihl's emendation. The MSS. have παραβολὸν, παραβόλου, παραβολὴν, or παραβολή. Perhaps παρακαταβολὴν should be restored.

[3] ἐκκλήτους is Schneider's emendation for MS. ἐγκλήτους. Perhaps ⟨τὰς⟩ should be inserted before μετ' ἐπιτιμίων.

[4] Perhaps δι' ἑτέρων should be omitted. Walford renders:

and they in turn promised him at least an equal amount. Having thus taken the money of both factions, he effected a reconciliation between them.

He also observed that there were many law-suits pending between the citizens, and that they had grave and long-standing plaints against one another which had arisen in course of war. He therefore appointed a tribunal, and made proclamation that all who failed to appear before it within a stated period should lose the right to a legal decision of their outstanding claims. Then, by taking into his own hands the court-fees for a number of suits, and also those appeal-cases which involved penalties, and receiving [through others] money from both sides, he obtained altogether a very considerable sum.

The people of Clazomenae, suffering from dearth 16
of grain and scarcity of funds, passed a resolution that any private citizens who had stores of oil should lend it to the State at interest; this being a produce which their land bears in abundance. The loan arranged, they hired vessels and sent them to the depots whence they obtained their grain, ⟨and bought a consignment⟩ on security of the value of the oil.

The same people, owing their mercenaries twenty talents of pay and being unable to find it, were giving the leaders of the troop four talents of interest each year. But failing to reduce the capital debt, and committed to this fruitless drain on their revenue, they struck an iron coinage of twenty talents, bearing the face-value of the silver. This they distributed

"and by taking bribes from each party through the instrumentality of the other."

[5] ⟨δοῦναι⟩ is added by Spengel and Susemihl. Schneider suggests ⟨διαλῦσαι⟩ or ⟨διδόναι⟩ after δυνάμενοι.

1348 b τάτοις ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ λόγον ἑκάστῳ ἀργύριον παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἔλαβον ἴσον. οἵ τε οὖν ἰδιῶται εἶχον εἰς τὰς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν χρείας ἀναλίσκειν, καὶ ἡ πόλις τοῦ χρέους ἀπηλλάγη. δεύτερον δὲ ἐκ τῶν προσόδων ἐκείνοις τόν τε τόκον κατέφερον ⟨καὶ⟩ αἰεὶ διαιροῦντες ἑκάστῳ πρὸς μέρος διεδίδοσαν, τοὺς δὲ σιδηροῦς ἐκομίζοντο.

Σηλυβριανοὶ δὲ δεηθέντες χρημάτων, νόμου ὄντος 17 αὐτοῖς σῖτον μὴ ἐξάγειν . . .[1] ἐν λιμῷ γενομένοις, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὑπάρχοντος σίτου παλαιοῦ, ἐψηφίσαντο τῇ πόλει παραδοῦναι τοὺς ἰδιώτας τὸν σῖτον τῆς
1349 a τεταγμένης τιμῆς, ὑπολειπόμενον ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτοῦ τροφήν· εἶτα ἐξαγωγὴν ἔδωκαν τῷ βουλομένῳ, τάξαντες τιμὴν ἣν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτοῖς.

Ἀβυδηνοὶ δέ, διὰ στασιασμὸν τῆς χώρας ἀργοῦ 18 γενομένης, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων οὐ προϊεμένων αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ καὶ ἔτι ὀφείλειν, ἐψηφίσαντο τὸν βουλόμενον τοῖς γεωργοῖς δανείζειν, ὡς ἐργάσωνται, ὡς πρώτοις αὐτοῖς ἐσομένης τῆς κομιδῆς ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἐκ τῶν λειπομένων.

Ἐφέσιοι δεηθέντες χρημάτων νόμον ἔθεντο μὴ 19 φορεῖν χρυσὸν τὰς γυναῖκας, ὅσον δὲ νῦν ἔχουσι, δανεῖσαι τῇ πόλει.

[1] Keil and Susemihl suspect a lacuna before ἐν λιμῷ. The former suggests <τοῖς ἄλλοις>, ". . . a law which forbade the export of grain <to other peoples> suffering from famine." The latter conjectures τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐν λιμῷ γενομένων, ". . . a law which forbade the export of grain. On one occasion, however, they were in need of funds; and as <others were suffering from famine while> they possessed . . ."

proportionately among the wealthiest citizens, and received from them silver to the same amount. Through this expedient, the private citizens possessed a currency which was good for their daily needs, and the state was relieved of its debt. Next, they proceeded to pay interest out of revenue to those who had advanced the silver; and little by little distributed repayment among them, recalling at the same time the currency of iron.[a]

The people of Selybria had a law, passed in time 17
of famine, which forbade the export of grain. On one occasion, however, they were in need of funds; and as they possessed large stores of grain, they passed a resolution that citizens should deliver up their corn to the state at the regular fixed price, each retaining for himself a year's supply. They then granted right of export to any who desired it, fixing what they deemed a suitable price.

At Abydos civil strife had caused the land to re- 18
main uncultivated; while the resident aliens, to whom the city was already indebted, refused to make any further advances. A resolution was accordingly passed that anyone who would might lend money to enable the farmers to cultivate their land, on the understanding that the lender had the first claim on its produce; others taking from what was then left.

The people of Ephesus, being in need of funds, 19
passed a law forbidding their women to wear gold, and ordering them to lend the State what gold they had in their possession.

[a] Plutarch (*Life of Lycurgus*) speaks of an iron currency at Sparta, and Seneca (*De beneficiis*) of a leathern one. These, not being exchangeable abroad, threw the nation upon its own resources and prevented the import of luxuries.

1349 a

Τῶν τε κιόνων ⟨τισὶ⟩[1] τῶν ἐν τῷ νεῷ τάξαντες ἀργύριον ὃ δεῖ καταβαλεῖν εἴων ἐπιγράφεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δόντος τὸ ἀργύριον ὡς ἀνατεθεικότος.

Διονύσιος Συρακούσιος βουλόμενος χρήματα 20
συναγαγεῖν, ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας ἔφησεν ἑωρακέναι τὴν Δήμητραν, καὶ κελεύειν τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀποκομίζειν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ γυναικῶν τὸν κόσμον τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι· ἠξίου δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, μή τι μήνιμα παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ γένηται· τὸν δὲ μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα ἔνοχον ἔφησεν ἱεροσυλίας ἔσεσθαι. ἀνενεγκάντων δὲ πάντων ἃ εἶχον διά τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον, θύσας τῇ θεῷ τὸν κόσμον ἀπηνέγκατο ὡς παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ δεδανεισμένος. προελθόντος δὲ χρόνου καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν πάλιν φορουσῶν, ἐκέλευσε τὴν βουλομένην χρυσοφορεῖν τάγμα τι ἀνατιθέναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ.

Τριήρεις τε ναυπηγεῖσθαι μέλλων ᾔδει ὅτι δεήσοιτο χρημάτων. ἐκκλησίαν οὖν συναγαγὼν ἔφη πόλιν αὐτῷ τινα προδίδοσθαι, εἰς ἣν δεῖσθαι χρημάτων, ἠξίου τε αὐτῷ τοὺς πολίτας εἰσενέγκαι δύο στατῆρας ἕκαστον· οἱ δ' εἰσήνεγκαν. διαλιπὼν δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ὡς διημαρτηκὼς τῆς πράξεως, ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ἀπέδωκεν ἑκάστῳ ὃ εἰσήνεγκαν.

[1] ⟨τισὶ⟩ inserted by Keil; otherwise, "They also assessed each pillar in their temple at a certain price, and offered to any citizen who was willing to pay it, the right of having his name inscribed thereon as the donor."

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[a] This temple, dedicated to Artemis, was restored with great magnificence after its destruction by fire in 356 B.C.

They also offered to any citizen who was willing to pay a fixed sum the right of having his name inscribed on a certain pillar of their temple [a] as the donor thereof.

Dionysius of Syracuse, being desirous of collecting 20
funds, called a public assembly, and declared that Demeter had appeared to him, and bade him convey all the women's ornaments into her temple. That he himself had done so with the ornaments of his own household; and the others must now follow his example, and thereby avoid any visitation of the goddess's anger. Anyone who failed to comply would, he declared, be guilty of sacrilege. Through fear of the goddess as well as of the despot, all the citizens brought in whatever they had. Then Dionysius, after sacrificing to the goddess, removed the ornaments to his own treasury as a loan which he had borrowed from her. As time went on, the women again appeared with precious ornaments. Dionysius thereupon issued a decree that any woman who desired to wear gold should make an offering of a fixed amount in the temple.

Intending to build a fleet of triremes, Dionysius knew that he should require funds for the purpose. He therefore called an assembly and declared that a certain city was offered to him by traitors, and he needed money to pay them. The citizens therefore must contribute two staters apiece.[b] The money was paid; but after two or three days, Dionysius, pretending that the plot had failed, thanked the citizens and returned to each his contribution. In

For its fame see Acts xix. Portions of the sculptured pillars are to be seen in the British Museum.

[b] The *stater* was a Persian gold coin worth 20 *drachmae*. (See § 3.)

1349 a ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο ἀνεκτήσατο τοὺς πολίτας. εἶτα πάλιν . . .[1] οἰόμενοι ἀπολήψεσθαι εἰσήνεγκαν· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν εἶχεν εἰς τὴν ναυπηγίαν.

Οὐκ εὐπορῶν δὲ ἀργυρίου νόμισμα ἔκοψε καττιτέρου, καὶ συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν πολλὰ τοῦ κεκομμένου νομίσματος ὑπερεῖπεν, οἱ δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι ἕκαστος ὃ ἂν εἵλετο ἔχειν ὡς ἀργυροῦν ἀλλὰ μὴ καττιτέρινον.

1349 b Πάλιν τε δεηθεὶς χρημάτων ἠξίου τοὺς πολίτας εἰσενεγκεῖν αὑτῷ· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν ἔχειν. ἐξενέγκας οὖν τὰ σκεύη τὰ παρ' αὑτοῦ ἐπώλει, ὡς δὴ δι' ἀπορίαν τοῦτο ποιῶν· ἀγοραζόντων δὲ Συρακουσίων ἀπεγράφετο τί ἕκαστος ἀγοράσειεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τιμὴν κατέβαλον, ἐκέλευσε τὸ σκεῦος ἀναφέρειν ἕκαστον ὃ ἠγόρασεν.

Τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν διὰ τὰς εἰσφορὰς οὐ τρεφόντων βοσκήματα εἶπεν ὅτι ἱκανὰ ἦν αὑτῷ πρὸς τοσοῦτον· τοὺς οὖν νῦν τι κτησαμένους ἀτελεῖς ἔσεσθαι. πολλῶν δὲ ταχὺ κτησαμένων πολλὰ βοσκήματα, ὡς ἀτελῆ ἑξόντων, ἐπεὶ καιρὸν ᾤετο εἶναι, τιμήσασθαι κελεύσας ἐπέβαλε τέλος. οἱ οὖν πολῖται ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξηπατῆσθαι, σφάζοντες ἐπώλουν. ὡς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἔταξε σφάζεσθαι ὅσα δεῖ τῆς ἡμέρας, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἱερόθυτα ἐποίουν· ὁ δὲ ἀπεῖπε θῆλυ μὴ θύειν.

Πάλιν τε δεηθεὶς χρημάτων ἐκέλευσεν ἀπο-

[1] Understanding or inserting <ἀξιοῦντος> (Susemihl) or the like.

this way he won the confidence of the citizens ; so that when he again asked for money, they contributed in the expectation that they would receive it back. But this time he kept it for building the fleet.

On another occasion being in straits for silver he minted a coinage of tin, and summoning a public assembly, spoke at length in its favour. The citizens perforce voted that everyone should regard as silver, and not as tin, whatever he received.

Again being in need of funds, he requested the citizens to contribute. On their declaring that they had not the wherewithal, he brought out the furnishings of his palace and offered them for sale, pretending to be compelled through lack of money. At the sale, he had a list made of the articles and their purchasers ; and when they had all paid, he commanded every one to bring back the article he had bought.

Finding that because of his imposts the citizens were ceasing to rear sheep and cattle, he made proclamation that he needed no more money until a certain ⟨date⟩ ; so that those who now became possessed of any stock would not be liable to taxation. A large number of citizens lost no time in acquiring a quantity of sheep and cattle, on the understanding that they would be free of impost. But Dionysius, when he thought the fitting time was come, had them all valued and imposed a tax. The citizens were angry at being thus deceived, and proceeded to kill and sell their beasts. On Dionysius's making a decree that only such beasts should be slain as were needed each day, the owners retorted by offering their animals as sacrifices ; whereupon the despot forbade the sacrifice of female beasts.

Once more funds were lacking, and Dionysius

1349 b γράψασθαι [χρήματα][1] πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσοι οἶκοί εἰσιν ὀρφανικοί· ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ ἄλλων[2] τὰ τούτων χρήματα ἀπεχρᾶτο, ἕως ἕκαστος εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθοι.

Ῥήγιόν τε καταλαβών, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν εἶπε διότι δικαίως μὲν ἂν ἐξανδραποδισθεῖεν ὑφ᾿ αὐτοῦ, νῦν μέντοι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνηλωμένα χρήματα κομισάμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου σώματος τρεῖς μνᾶς ἀφήσειν αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Ῥηγῖνοι ὅσα ποτ᾿ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένα ἐμφανῆ ἐποίουν, καὶ οἱ ἄποροι παρὰ τῶν εὐπορωτέρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ξένων δανειζόμενοι ἐπόρισαν ἃ ἐκέλευσε χρήματα. λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα παρ᾿ αὐτῶν τά τε σώματα πάντα οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀπέδοτο, τά τε σκεύη, ἃ τότε ἦν ἀποκεκρυμμένα, ἐμφανῆ ἅπαντα ἔλαβε.

Δανεισάμενός τε παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν χρήματα ἐπ᾿ ἀποδόσει, ὡς ἀπῄτουν αὐτόν, ἐκέλευσεν ἀναφέρειν ὅσον ἔχει τις ἀργύριον πρὸς αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ μή, θάνατον ἔταξε τὸ ἐπιτίμιον· ἀνενεχθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀργυρίου, ἐπικόψας χαρακτῆρα ἐξέδωκε τὴν δραχμὴν δύο δυναμένην δραχμάς, καὶ τό τε ὀφειλόμενον πρότερον . . .[3] ἀνήνεγκαν πρὸς αὐτόν.

Εἰς Τυρρηνίαν τε πλεύσας ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Λευκοθέας ἱεροῦ χρυσίον τε καὶ ἀργύριον πολὺ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον οὐκ ὀλίγον. εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι καὶ οἱ ναῦται πολλὰ ἔχουσι, κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο,
1350 a τὰ ἡμίσεα ὧν ἔχει ἕκαστος ἀναφέρειν πρὸς αὐτόν, τὰ δ᾿ ἡμίσεα ἔχειν τὸν λαβόντα· τῷ δὲ μὴ ἀνενέγκαντι θάνατον ἔταξε τὸ ἐπιτίμιον. ὑπολαβόντες δὲ

[1] Or, if χρήματα be kept, "a return of property to be made him by all houses whose heirs were orphan."

[2] Reading πάντων (Sylburg) for MS. ἄλλων.

[3] Reading τό τε ὀφειλόμενον <ἀπέδωκε καὶ ὃ νῦν> ἀνήνεγκαν (after Susemihl).

ordered a list to be made for him of all houses whose heirs were orphan. Having obtained a complete list, he made use of the orphans' property until each should come of age.

After the capture of Rhegium, he summoned a meeting of the citizens, and told them why he had a good right to sell them as slaves. If, however, they would pay him the expenses of the war and three minae [a] a head besides, he would release them. The people of Rhegium brought forth all their hoards; the poor borrowed from the wealthier and from the foreigners resident in the city; and so the amount demanded was paid. But though he received this money from them, none the less he sold them all for slaves, having succeeded ⟨by his trick⟩ in bringing to light the hoarded goods which they had previously concealed.

On another occasion he had borrowed money from the citizens, promising to repay it. On their demanding its return, he bade each bring him, under pain of death, whatever silver he possessed. This silver when brought he coined into drachmae each bearing the face value of two: with these he repaid the ⟨previous⟩ debt and also what had just been brought in.

He also made a raid on Tyrrhenia with a hundred ships, and rifled the temple of Leucothea of a large amount of gold and silver, besides a quantity of works of art. But being aware that his sailors too had taken much plunder, he made proclamation that each should bring him, under pain of death, one-half of what he had; the remainder of their takings they might keep. On the understanding that if they

[a] See § 3.

1350 a
οἱ ναῦται ἀνενεγκόντες τὰ ἡμίσεα τὰ κατάλοιπα ἔχειν ἀδεῶς, ἀνήνεγκαν· ὁ δ᾽ ἐπείπερ ἐκεῖνα ἔλαβεν, ἐκέλευσε πάλιν τὰ ἡμίσεα ἀναφέρειν.

Μενδαῖοι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ λιμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 21
τελῶν αὐτοῖς προσπορευόμενα ἐχρῶντο εἰς διοίκησιν τῆς πόλεως, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ οἰκιῶν τέλη οὐκ ἔπραττον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνέγραφον τοὺς ἔχοντας· ὁπόταν δὲ δεηθεῖεν χρημάτων, ἀπεδίδοσαν ⟨οἱ⟩ ὀφείλοντες. ἐκέρδαινον οὖν τὸν παρεληλυθότα χρόνον ἀτόκοις τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀποκεχρημένοι.

Πολεμοῦντές ⟨τε⟩ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους καὶ δεόμενοι χρημάτων, ὄντων αὐτοῖς ἀνδραπόδων, ἐψηφίσαντο καταλειπομένων ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος τὰ ἄλλα ἀποδόσθαι τῇ πόλει, ὡς ἐκδανεῖσαι τοὺς ἰδιώτας χρήματα.

Καλλίστρατος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πωλουμένου τοῦ 22
ἐλλιμενίου ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ εἴκοσι ταλάντων ἐποίησεν εὑρεῖν τὸ διπλάσιον· κατιδὼν γὰρ ὠνουμένους τοὺς εὐπορωτέρους ἀεὶ διὰ τὸ δεῖν ταλαντιαίους καθεστάναι τοὺς ἐγγύους τῶν εἴκοσι ταλάντων, προεκήρυξεν ὠνεῖσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, καὶ τοὺς ἐγγύους καθεστάναι τοῦ τρίτου μέρους καὶ καθ᾽ ὁπόσον ἑκάστους δύνηται πείθειν.

Τιμόθεος Ἀθηναῖος πολεμῶν πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους 23
καὶ ἀπορούμενος ἀργυρίου, κόψας χαλκὸν διεδίδου τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφη αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ἀγοραίους ἅπαντας ὡσαύτως πωλήσειν. τοῖς δ᾽ ἐμπόροις προεῖπεν, ὃν ἄν τις λάβῃ χαλκόν, τούτου πάλιν

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[a] Or: "that citizens should sell to the state what slaves they possessed . . . as the equivalent of a loan from private persons to the city <of the slaves' value>."

brought in half their plunder they would retain the rest in security, they obeyed. But when Dionysius had got the treasure into his hands, he commanded them to bring him the other half as well.

The people of Mende used to meet the expenses of administration from harbour and other duties, but refrained from collecting the imposts on land and on houses. They kept, however, a register of the owners, and when the state was in need of funds, they collected the arrears. Meanwhile the owners had the advantage of trafficking with their whole property undiminished by any payment of percentages. 21

The same city being at war with Olynthus and needing funds, passed a resolution that all the slaves they possessed, with the exception of one male and one female apiece, should be sold on behalf of the State, which was thus enabled to raise a loan from private citizens.[a]

Callistratus, when in Macedonia, caused the 22
harbour-dues, which were usually sold for twenty talents, to produce twice as much. For noticing that only the wealthier men were accustomed to buy them because the sureties for the twenty talents were obliged to show talent for talent, he issued a proclamation that anyone might buy the dues on furnishing securities for one-third of the amount, or as much more as could be procured in each case.

Timotheus of Athens during his campaign against 23
Olynthus was short of silver, and issued to his men a copper coinage instead. On their complaining, he told them that all the merchants and retailers would accept it in lieu of silver. But the merchants he instructed to buy in turn with the copper they re-

1350 a ἀγοράζειν τά τ' ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὤνια καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν λειῶν ἀγόμενα· ὃς δ' ἂν περιλειφθῇ αὐτοῖς χαλκός, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναφέροντας ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν.

Περὶ Κέρκυραν δὲ πολεμῶν καὶ ἀπόρως διακείμενος καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἰτούντων τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ ἀπειθούντων αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους φασκόντων ἀποπορεύεσθαι, ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔφησεν οὐ δύνασθαι διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας παραγενέσθαι αὐτῷ ἀργύριον, ἐπεὶ τοσαύτην εἶναι περὶ αὐτὸν εὐπορίαν, ὥστε τὴν προδεδομένην τριμήνου σιταρ-
1350 b χίαν δωρεὰν αὐτοῖς διδόναι· οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄν ποτε προέσθαι τοσαῦτα χρήματα τὸν Τιμόθεον αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ προσδόκιμα ἦν τὰ χρήματα πρὸς αὐτόν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ὑπὲρ τῶν μισθῶν, ἕως ἐκεῖνος διῳκήσατο ἃ ἐβούλετο.

Σάμον δὲ πολιορκῶν τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀπεδίδοτο αὐτοῖς τοῖς Σαμίοις, ὥστε εὐπόρησε χρημάτων εἰς μισθοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις. τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἐπεὶ σπάνις ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διὰ τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους, ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ πωλεῖν σῖτον ἀληλεσμένον, μηδὲ μέτρον ἔλασσον ἢ μέδιμνον, μηδὲ τῶν ὑγρῶν μηθὲν ἔλαττον ἢ μετρητήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταξίαρχοί τε καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀγοράζοντες ἀθρόα διεδίδοσαν τοῖς στρατιώταις, οἱ δὲ εἰσαφικνούμενοι ἦγον αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁπότε δὲ ἀπαλλάττοιντο, εἴ τι περίλοιπον εἴη αὐτοῖς, ἐπώλουν. ὥστε συνέβαινεν εὐπορεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

Διδάλης Πέρσης ἔχων στρατιώτας τὰ μὲν καθ' 24
ἡμέραν πορίζειν ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας αὐτοῖς, νόμισμα δὲ οὐκ ἔχων διδόναι, ἀπαιτούμενος δέ,

ceived such produce of the land as was for sale, as well as any booty brought to them; such copper as remained on their hands he would exchange for silver.

During the campaign of Corcyra[a] this same Timotheus was reduced to sore straits. His men demanded their pay; refused to obey his orders; and declared they would desert to the enemy. Accordingly he summoned a meeting and told them that the stormy weather was delaying the arrival of the silver he expected; meanwhile, as he had on hand such abundance of provisions, he would charge them nothing for the three months' ration of grain already advanced. The men, unable to believe that Timotheus would have sacrificed so large a sum to them unless he was in truth expecting the money, made no further claim for pay until he had completed his dispositions.

At the siege of Samos,[b] Timotheus sold the crops and other country property to the besieged Samians themselves, and thus obtained plenty of money to pay his men. But finding the camp was short of provisions owing to the arrival of reinforcements, he forbade the sale of milled corn, or of any measure less than 1½ bushels of corn or 8½ gallons of wine or oil. Accordingly the officers bought supplies wholesale and issued them to their men; the reinforcements thenceforth brought their own provisions, and sold any surplus on their departure. In this way the needs of the soldiers were satisfactorily met.

Didales the Persian was able to provide for the 24
daily needs of his mercenaries from the enemy's country; but had no coined money to give them.

[a] Apparently in 375 B.C. See the end of Xenophon's fifth Book of *Hellenica*.
[b] In 366 B.C.

1350 b χρόνου γενομένου οὗ ὤφειλε, τεχνάζει τοιόνδε. ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔφη οὐκ ἀπορεῖσθαι χρημάτων, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτῷ ἐν χωρίῳ τινί, λέγων ἐν ᾧ εἴη. καὶ ἀναζεύξας ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' αὐτό· εἶτα ὡς ἐγγὺς τοῦ χωρίου ἐγένετο, προελθὼν εἰς αὐτὸ ἔλαβεν ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἱερῶν ὅσος ἐνῆν κοῖλος ἄργυρος· εἶτ' ἐπισκευάσας τὰς ἡμιόνους ὡς ἀγούσας ἀργύριον παραφαινούσας τε ταῦτα ἐβάδιζεν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ νομίσαντες ἅπαντα εἶναι ἄργυρον τὰ ἀγόμενα, ἐθάρρησαν ὡς κομιούμενοι τὸν μισθόν. ὁ δὲ ἔφη δεῖν εἰς Ἀμισὸν ἐλθόντα ἐπισημήνασθαι· ἦν δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀμισὸν ὁδὸς πολλῶν τε ἡμερῶν καὶ χειμέριος· τὸν δὴ χρόνον τοῦτον ἀπεχρᾶτο τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια μόνον διδούς.

Τούς ⟨τε⟩ τεχνίτας τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ αὐτὸς εἶχε καὶ τοὺς καπήλους τοὺς μεταβαλλομένους τι· ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐκ ἦν οὐθενὶ οὐθὲν τούτων ποιεῖν.

Χαβρίας Ἀθηναῖος Ταῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖ 25 ἐκστρατεύοντι καὶ δεομένῳ χρημάτων συνεβούλευε τῶν τε ἱερῶν τινα καὶ τῶν ἱερέων[1] τὸ πλῆθος φάναι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς δεῖν παραλυθῆναι διὰ τὴν δαπάνην.
1351 a ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕκαστοι βουλόμενοι εἶναι, καὶ ἴδια[2] αὐτοῖς οἱ ἱερεῖς

[1] ἱερέων, "priests," is Sylburg's emendation for MS. ἱερείων, "sacrifices."

[2] Perhaps ⟨καὶ κοινὰ⟩ has dropped out after αὐτοῖς. Sylburg suggests ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος καὶ κοινῇ. See § 33, last sentence.

When their pay became due, and they demanded it, he had recourse to the following trick. He called a meeting, and told the men that he had plenty of money, but that it was stored in a certain fortress, which he named. He then broke up his encampment and marched in that direction. On reaching the neighbourhood of the fortress, he himself went on ahead, and entering the place seized all the silver vessels in the temples. He then loaded his mules in such a way that this plate was exposed, thus suggesting that silver formed the entire load; and so continued his march. The soldiers, beholding the plate and supposing that they convoyed a full load of silver, were cheered by the expectation of their pay. They were informed however by Didales that they would have to take it to Amisus to be coined—a journey of many days, and in the winter season. And during all this time, he continued to employ the army without giving it more than its necessary rations.

Moreover, all the craftsmen in the army, and the hucksters who traded with the soldiers by barter, were under his personal control, and enjoyed a complete monopoly.

When Taos,[a] king of Egypt, needed funds for an 25
expedition he was making, Chabrias of Athens advised him to inform the priests that to save expense it was necessary to suppress some of the temples together with the majority of the attendant priests. On hearing this, each priesthood, being anxious to retain their own temple, offered him money from

[a] Called Tachos (Ταχώς) by Xenophon and Plutarch. Perhaps that form should be restored here. (Bonitz and Susemihl.) The name recurs in § 37.

1351 a ἐδίδοσαν χρήματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντων εἰλήφει, προστάξαι αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσεν εἰς μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν[1] τῆς δαπάνης ἧς πρότερον ἐποιοῦντο τὸ δέκατον μέρος ποιεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῷ δανεῖσαι, ἕως ὁ πόλεμος ὁ πρὸς βασιλέα διαλυθῇ.

Ἀπ' οἰκίας δὲ ἑκάστης κελεῦσαι ἅπαντας εἰσενέγκαι τάξαντα ὃ δεῖ, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὡσαύτως· τοῦ σίτου τε πωλουμένου χωρὶς τῆς τιμῆς διδόναι τὸν πωλοῦντα καὶ ὠνούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρτάβης τὸν ὀβολόν· ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων τε καὶ ἐργαστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλην τινὰ ἐργασίαν ἐχόντων τῆς ἐργασίας μέρος τὸ δέκατον κελεῦσαι ἀποτελεῖν.

Ἐκστρατεύειν δ' αὐτῷ μέλλοντι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, εἴ τις ἔχοι ἄσημον ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον, κελεῦσαι ἐνέγκαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐνεγκάντων δὲ τῶν πλείστων, ἐκέλευσε τούτῳ μὲν ἐκεῖνον χρῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ δανείσαντας συστῆσαι τοῖς νομάρχαις, ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν φόρων αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι.

Ἰφικράτης Ἀθηναῖος, Κότυος συναγαγόντος 26 στρατιώτας, ἐπόρισεν αὐτῷ χρήματα τρόπον τοιοῦτον. ἐκέλευσε τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἦρχε προστάξαι κατασπεῖραι αὐτῷ γῆν τριῶν μεδίμνων· τούτου δὲ πραχθέντος συνελέγη σίτου πολὺ πλῆθος. καταγαγὼν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμπόρια ἀπέδοτο, καὶ εὐπόρησε χρημάτων.

Κότυς Θρᾷξ παρὰ Πειρινθίων ἐδανείζετο χρήματα 27 εἰς τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγεῖν· οἱ δὲ Πειρίνθιοι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῷ. ἠξίωσεν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας γε τῶν πολιτῶν φρουροὺς δοῦναι εἰς χωρία τινά,

[1] Reading εἰς αὐτοὺς for MS. εἰς αὐτὸν (Aldine edition εἰς αὐτὸν).

their private possessions ⟨as well as from the temple funds⟩. When the king had thus received money from them all, Chabrias bade him tell the priests to spend on the temple-service and on their own maintenance one-tenth of what they formerly spent, and lend him the remainder until he had made peace with the King ⟨of Persia⟩.

Moreover, each inhabitant was to contribute a stated proportion of his household and personal possessions; and when grain was sold, buyer and seller were each to contribute, apart from the price, one obol per *artabē* [a]; while a tax of one tenth was to be imposed on profits arising from ships and workshops and other sources of gain.

Again, when Taos was on the point of setting out from Egypt, Chabrias advised him to make requisition of all uncoined gold and silver in the possession of the inhabitants; and when most of them complied, he bade the king make use of the bullion, and refer the lenders to the governors of his provinces for compensation out of the taxes.

Iphicrates of Athens provided Cotys with money 26
for a force which he had collected in the following manner. He bade him order ⟨each⟩ of his subjects to sow for him a piece of land bearing 4½ bushels. A large quantity of grain was thus gathered, from the price of which, when brought to the depots on the coast, the king obtained as much money as he wanted.

Cotys of Thrace asked the people of Peirinthus for 27
a loan to enable him to raise an army. On their refusing, he begged them at any rate to let him have some of their citizens to garrison certain fortresses,

[a] The *artabē* was a Persian measure containing nearly 50 quarts. The obol was ⅙ of a drachma of silver.

1351 a ἵνα τοῖς ἐκεῖ στρατιώταις νῦν φρουροῦσι σχῇ ἀποχρήσασθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο ταχέως ἐποίησαν, οἰόμενοι τῶν χωρίων κύριοι ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κότυς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας εἰς φυλακὴν ποιήσας τὰ χρήματα αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστείλαντας, ἃ ἐδανείζετο παρ' αὐτῶν, κομίσασθαι.

Μέντωρ Ῥόδιος[1] Ἑρμείαν συλλαβὼν καὶ τὰ 28
χωρία αὐτοῦ κατασχὼν τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς εἴασε κατὰ χώραν τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑρμείου καθεστηκότας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθάρρησάν τε ἅπαντες, καὶ εἴ τί ποτ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἢ ὑπεκκείμενον, μεθ' αὐτῶν εἶχον, συλλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πάντα παρείλετο ἃ εἶχον.

1351 b Μέμνων Ῥόδιος κυριεύσας Λαμψάκου δεηθεὶς 29
χρημάτων ἐπέγραψε τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις αὐτῶν πλῆθός τι ἀργυρίου, τούτοις δὲ τὴν κομιδὴν ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἔφησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται εἰσήνεγκαν, ἐκέλευσε καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ δανεῖσαι ἐν χρόνῳ[2] διειπάμενος ἐν ᾧ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσει.

Πάλιν τε δεηθεὶς χρημάτων ἠξίωσεν αὐτοὺς εἰσενέγκαι, κομίσασθαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν προσόδων· οἱ δ' εἰσήνεγκαν, ὡς διὰ ταχέων αὐτοῖς ἐσομένης τῆς κομιδῆς· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ καταβολαὶ τῶν προσόδων παρῆσαν, ἔφησεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ[3] χρείαν εἶναι καὶ τούτων, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὕστερον ἀποδώσειν σὺν τόκῳ.

Τῶν τε στρατευομένων παρ' αὐτῷ παρῃτεῖτο τὰς σιταρχίας καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς ἓξ ἡμερῶν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, φάσκων ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις οὔτε φυλακὴν αὐτοὺς

[1] Ῥόδιος Camerarius for MS. υἱὸς.

[2] Perhaps χρόνον (Kirchhoff) should be read for MS. ἐν χρόνῳ.

[3] Reading ἔτι αὐτῷ (Scaliger) or ἑαυτῷ (Sylburg) for ἐπ' αὐτῷ (most MSS.).

and release for active service the men who were there on duty. They readily complied, thinking thus to obtain control of the fortresses. But Cotys placed in custody the men they sent, and told the citizens that they might have them back when they had sent him the amount of the loan he desired.

Mentor of Rhodes, after taking Hermias prisoner 28
and seizing his fortresses, left in their various districts the officials appointed by him. By this means he restored their confidence, so that they all took again to themselves the property they had hidden or had sent secretly out of the country. Then Mentor arrested them and stripped them of all they had.

Memnon of Rhodes, on making himself master of 29
Lampsacus, found he was in need of funds. He therefore assessed upon the wealthiest inhabitants a quantity of silver, telling them that they should recover it from the other citizens. But when the other citizens made their contributions, Memnon said they must lend him this money also, fixing a certain date for its repayment.

Again being in need of funds, he asked for a contribution, to be recovered, as he said, from the city revenues. The citizens complied, thinking that they would speedily reimburse themselves. But when the revenue payments came in, he declared that he must have these also, and would repay the lenders subsequently with interest.

His mercenary troops he requested to forgo six days' pay and rations each year, on the plea that on those days they were neither on garrison duty nor on the march nor did they incur any expense.

1351 b

οὐδεμίαν οὔτε πορείαν οὔτε δαπάνην ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς ἐξαιρεσίμους λέγων.

Τόν τε πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον διδοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς νουμηνίας τὴν σιταρχίαν, τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ μηνὶ παρέβη τρεῖς ἡμέρας, τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ πέντε· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον προῆγεν, ἕως εἰς τὴν τριακάδα ἦλθεν.

Χαρίδημος Ὠρείτης ἔχων τῆς Αἰολίδος τινὰ χωρία, ἐπιστρατεύοντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ἀρταβάζου χρημάτων ἐδεῖτο εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον εἰσέφερον αὐτῷ, εἶτα οὐκέτι ἔφασαν ἔχειν· ὁ δὲ Χαρίδημος, ὃ ᾤετο χωρίον εὐπορώτατον εἶναι, ἐκέλευσεν, [καὶ] εἴ τι νόμισμα ἔχουσιν ἤ τι ἄλλο σκεῦος ἀξιόλογον, εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀποστέλλειν, παραπομπὴν δὲ δώσειν· ἅμα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο ποιῶν φανερὸς ἦν. πεισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, προαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως μικρὸν καὶ ἐρευνήσας ἃ εἶχον, ἔλαβεν ὅσων ἐδεῖτο, ἐκείνους δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἀπῆγεν.

Κήρυγμά τε ποιησάμενος ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὧν ἦρχε, μηδένα μηδὲν ὅπλον κεκτῆσθαι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτίσειν ἀργύριον ὃ ἐπεκήρυξεν, ἠμέλει καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιεῖτο. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων οἰομένων τὸ κήρυγμα μάτην αὐτὸν πεποιῆσθαι, εἶχον ἃ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι κεκτημένοι κατὰ χώραν. ὁ δ' ἔρευναν ἐξαίφνης ποιησάμενος τῶν οἰκιῶν, παρ' οἷς εὗρεν ὅπλον τι, ἐπράττετο τὸ ἐπιτίμιον.

[a] As the moon's cycle is completed in 29½ days, it was customary to alternate "hollow" months of 29 days with the "full" months of 30 days. Memnon paid his men by the month, but deducted a day's pay every "hollow" month.

(He referred to the days omitted from alternate months.[a])

Moreover, being accustomed previously to issue his men's rations of corn on the second day of the month, in the first month he postponed the distribution for three days, and in the second month for five; proceeding in this fashion until at length it took place on the last day of the month.

Charidemus of Oreus, being in occupation of certain 30
fortress-towns in Aeolis, and threatened with an attack by Artabazus,[b] was in need of money to pay his troops. After their first contributions, the inhabitants declared they had no more to give. Charidemus then issued a proclamation to the town he deemed wealthiest, bidding the inhabitants send away to another fortress all the coin and valuables they possessed, under convoy which he would provide. He himself openly set the example with his own goods, and prevailed on them to comply. But when he had conducted them a little way out of the town, he made an inventory of their goods, took all he wanted, and led them home again.

He had also issued a proclamation in the cities he governed forbidding anyone to keep arms in his house, under pain of a stated fine. At first, however, he took no care to enforce it, nor did he make any inquisition; so that the people treated his proclamation as nugatory, and made no attempt to get rid of what arms each possessed. Then Charidemus unexpectedly ordered a search to be made from house to house, and exacted the penalty from those who were found in possession of arms.

[b] For the circumstances, and a (hostile) account of this commander's adventures, see Demosthenes, *Against Aristocrates*.

1351 b Φιλόξενός τις Μακεδὼν Καρίας σατραπεύων 31 δεηθεὶς χρημάτων Διονύσια ἔφασκε μέλλειν ἄγειν, 1352 a καὶ χοραγοὺς προέγραψε τῶν Καρῶν τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους, καὶ προσέταττεν αὐτοῖς ἃ δεῖ παρασκευάζειν. ὁρῶν δ' αὐτοὺς δυσχεραίνοντας, ὑποπέμπων τινὰς ἠρώτα, τί βούλονται δόντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς λειτουργίας. οἱ δὲ πολλῷ πλέον ἢ ὅσον ᾤοντο ἀναλώσειν ἔφασαν δώσειν τοῦ μὴ ὀχλεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπεῖναι. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τούτων λαβὼν ὃ ἐδίδοσαν ἑτέρους κατέγραψεν, ἕως ἔλαβε παρὰ τούτων ἃ ἐβούλετο καὶ προσῆν παρ' ἑκάστοις.[1]

Εὐαίσης Σύρος Αἰγύπτου σατραπεύων, ἀφίστα- 32 σθαι μελλόντων τῶν νομαρχῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἰσθόμενος, καλέσας αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ἐκρέμα ἅπαντας· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκέλευσε λέγειν ὅτι ἐν φυλακῇ εἰσιν. ἕκαστος[2] οὖν τῶν οἰκείων ἔπραττον ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου, καὶ χρημάτων ἐξεωνοῦντο τοὺς συνειλημμένους. ὁ δὲ διομολογησάμενος ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου καὶ λαβὼν τὰ ὁμολογηθέντα ἀπέδωκεν ἑκάστοις τὸν νεκρόν.

Κλεομένης Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Αἰγύπτου σατραπεύων, 33 λιμοῦ γενομένου ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις σφόδρα, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ μετρίως, ἀπέκλεισε τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν τοῦ σίτου. τῶν δὲ νομαρχῶν φασκόντων οὐ δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς φόρους ἀποδοῦναι τῷ μὴ ἐξάγεσθαι τὸν σῖτον, ἐξαγωγὴν μὲν ἐποίησε, τέλος δὲ πολὺ τῷ

[1] Reading ἕως <καὶ> (Keil) ἔλαβε παρὰ τούτων, καὶ ἃ ἐβούλετο (Keil) προσῆν παρ' ἑκάστων (Sylburg). The MS. readings are corrupt.

[2] Perhaps ἕκαστοι should be read: "each family on behalf of their kinsman."

[a] *Cf.* Demosthenes, *Against Dionysodorus*: "Cleomenes

A Macedonian named Philoxenus, who was governor of Caria, being in need of funds proclaimed that he intended to celebrate the festival of Dionysus. The wealthiest inhabitants were selected to provide the choruses, and were informed what they were expected to furnish. Noticing their disinclination, Philoxenus sent to them privately and asked what they would give to be relieved of the duty. They told him they were prepared to pay a much larger sum than they expected to spend ⟨on the choruses⟩ in order to avoid the trouble and the interruption of their business. Philoxenus accepted their offers, and proceeded to enrol a second levy. These also paid; and at last he received what he desired from each company. 31

Euaises the Syrian, when governor of Egypt, received information that the local governors were meditating rebellion. He therefore summoned them to the palace and proceeded to hang them all, sending word to their relations that they were in prison. These accordingly made offers, each on behalf of his own kinsman, seeking by payment to secure their release. Euaises agreed to accept a certain sum for each, and when it had been paid returned to the relations the dead body. 32

While Cleomenes of Alexandria was governor of Egypt,[a] at a time when there was some scarcity in the land, but elsewhere a grievous famine, he forbade the export of grain. On the local governors representing that if there were no export of grain they would be unable to pay in their taxes, he allowed the export, 33

. . . from the time that he received the government, has done immense mischief to your state, and still more to the rest of Greece, by buying up corn for resale and keeping it at his own price" (Kennedy's translation).

1352 a σίτῳ ἐπέβαλεν, ὥστε συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ[1] . . ., ἐξαγομένου ὀλίγου πολὺ τέλος λαμβάνειν, αὐτούς τε τοὺς νομάρχας πεπαῦσθαι τῆς προφάσεως.

Διαπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν νομόν, οὗ ἐστι θεὸς ὁ κροκόδειλος, ἡρπάσθη τις τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ· καλέσας οὖν τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔφη πρότερος ἀδικηθεὶς ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς κροκοδείλους, καὶ προσέταξε θηρεύειν αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς, ἵνα μὴ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν καταφρονηθῇ, συναγαγόντες ὅσον ἠδύναντο χρυσίον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ οὕτως ἐπαύσατο.

Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντειλαμένου αὐτῷ οἰκίσαι πόλιν πρὸς τῷ Φάρῳ καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ πρότερον ὂν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κανώβου ἐνταῦθα ποιῆσαι, καταπλεύσας εἰς τὸν Κάνωβον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς κτήματα ἔχοντας ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἥκειν ἔφη ὥστε μετοικίσαι αὐτούς. οἱ ⟨δὲ⟩ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ κάτοικοι εἰσενέγκαντες χρήματα ἔδωκαν, ἵν' ἐᾷ κατὰ χώραν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐμπόριον. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τότε μὲν ἀπηλλάγη, εἶτα δὲ καταπλεύσας, ἐπεὶ ἦν 1352 b εὐτρεπῆ αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, ᾔτει αὐτοὺς χρήματα ὑπερβαλὼν τῷ πλήθει· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ διάφορον εἶναι, τὸ αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸ ἐμπόριον καὶ μὴ ἐκεῖ. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔφασαν δύνασθαι δοῦναι, μετῴκισεν αὐτούς.

Ἀποστείλας τέ τινα ἐπ' ἀγόρασμά τι καὶ αἰσθόμενος ὅτι εὐώνων ἐπιτετύχηκεν, αὐτῷ δὲ μέλλει ἐκτετιμημένα λογίζεσθαι, πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἀκηκοὼς εἴη τὰ ἀγοράσματα αὐτὸν ὑπερτίμια ἠγορακέναι· αὐτὸς οὖν οὐ προσ-

[1] εἰ μή, omitted in several MSS., I have left untranslated. Susemihl suspects a lacuna after the words.

but laid a heavy duty on the corn. By this means he obtained a large amount of duty from a small amount of export, and at the same time deprived the officials of their excuse.

When Cleomenes was making a progress by water through the province where the crocodile is worshipped, one of his servants was carried off. Accordingly, summoning the priests, he told them that he intended to retaliate on the crocodiles for this unprovoked aggression; and gave orders for a battue. The priests, to save the credit of their god, collected all the gold they could, and succeeded in putting an end to the pursuit.

King Alexander had given Cleomenes command to establish a town near the island of Pharus, and to transfer thither the market hitherto held at Canopus. Sailing therefore to Canopus he informed the priests and the men of property there that he was come to remove them. The priests and residents thereupon contributed money to induce him to leave their market where it was. He took what they offered, and departed; but afterwards returned, when all was ready to build the town, and proceeded to demand an excessive sum; which represented, he said, the difference the change of site would make to him. They however declared themselves unable to pay it, and were accordingly removed.

On another occasion he sent an agent to make a certain purchase for him. Learning that the agent had made a good bargain, but intended to charge him a high price, he proceeded to inform the man's associates that he had been told he had purchased the goods at an excessive price, and that therefore he did not intend to recognize the transaction; denouncing

1352 b ἕξειν· καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἀβελτερίαν αὐτοῦ ἐλοιδόρει μετ᾽ ὀργῆς προσποιήτου. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν πιστεύειν αὐτὸν τοῖς λέγουσί τι κατ᾽ ἐκείνου, ἕως αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος τὸν λόγον αὐτῷ δῷ. ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ ἀπήγγειλαν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους· ὁ δ᾽ ἐκείνοις τε βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι καὶ τῷ Κλεομένει ἀνήνεγκε τὰς τιμὰς ὧνπερ ἦν ἠγορακώς.

Τοῦ τε σίτου πωλουμένου ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ δεκαδράχμου, καλέσας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἠρώτα, πόσου[1] βούλονται αὐτῷ ἐργάζεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἐλάσσονος ἢ ὅσου τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐπώλουν. ὁ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνον[2] μὲν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ παραδιδόναι ὅσουπερ ἐπώλουν τοῖς ἄλλοις· αὐτὸς δὲ τάξας τριάκοντα καὶ δύο δραχμὰς τοῦ σίτου τὴν τιμὴν οὕτως ἐπώλει.

Τούς τε ἱερεῖς καλέσας ἔφησε πολὺ τὸ ἀνώμαλον ἀνάλωμα[3] ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γίνεσθαι εἰς τὰ ἱερά· δεῖν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τινα καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τὸ πλῆθος καταλυθῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος καὶ κοινῇ τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν, οἰόμενοί τε αὐτὸν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μέλλειν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ αὐτοῦ μεῖναι κατὰ χώραν καὐτὸς ἱερεύς.

Ἀντιμένης Ῥόδιος ἡμιόδιος[4] γενόμενος Ἀλεξ- 34

[1] πόσου Camerarius for πῶς (MSS.).

[2] Reading ἐκείνους with Bekker and the 3rd Basle edition.

[3] Or, omitting (with some MSS.) ἀνώμαλον before ἀνάλωμα, "complained of the large amount expended on the temples of the country; declaring that some of these . . ."

[4] Reading ἐπιόδιος (ἐπὶ ὁδῶν Keil) for MS. ἡμιόδιος. Perhaps προσόδιος or ἐπὶ προσόδων, "revenue officer," would be better.

[a] If the measure intended is the Attic *medimnos*, it is 1½ bushels. The Persian *artabē* may however be meant,

at the same time with feigned anger the fellow's stupidity. They on hearing this asked him not to believe what was said against the agent until he himself arrived and rendered his account. On the man's arrival, his associates told him what Cleomenes had said. He, desirous of winning their approval as well as that of Cleomenes, debited the latter with the actual price he had given.

At a time when the price of grain in Egypt was ten drachmae ⟨a measure⟩,[a] Cleomenes sent for the growers and asked them at what price they would contract to supply him with their produce. On their quoting a price lower than what they were charging the merchants, he offered them the full price they were accustomed to receive from others; and taking over the entire supply, sold it at a fixed rate of thirty-two drachmae ⟨for the same measure⟩.

He also sent for the priests, and told them that the expenditure on the temples was very unevenly distributed in the country; and that some of these, together with the majority of the attendant priests, must accordingly be suppressed. The priests, supposing him to be in earnest, and wishing each to secure the continuance of his own temple and office, gave him money individually from their private possessions as well as collectively from the temple funds.[b]

Antimenes of Rhodes, who was appointed by 34

which was equal to 1 *medimnos* and $\frac{1}{18}$th. In either case the price is very high compared with 3 drachmae per *medimnos*, the price at Athens in 390 B.C. Yet Polybius (ix. 44) says that at Rome during the war with Hannibal (210) corn was sold for fifteen drachmae per *medimnos*. As a contrast *cf.* what the same author says of the fertility of Gallia Cisalpina, where in time of peace this same measure of wheat was sold for four obols, and of barley for two. See note on § 25.

[b] *Cf.* § 25.

1352 b ἄνδρου περὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἐπόρισε χρήματα ὧδε. νόμου ὄντος ἐν Βαβυλωνίᾳ παλαιοῦ δεκάτην εἶναι τῶν εἰσαγομένων, χρωμένου δὲ αὐτῷ οὐθενός, τηρήσας τούς τε σατράπας ἅπαντας προσδοκίμους ὄντας καὶ στρατιώτας, οὐκ ὀλίγους τε πρέσβεις καὶ τεχνίτας κλητοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἄγοντας καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀποδημοῦντας,[1] καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ ἀναγόμενα, τὴν δεκάτην ἔπρασσε κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν κείμενον.

Πάλιν τε πορίζων τἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ ὄντα ἐκέλευσε τὸν βουλόμενον ἀπογράφεσθαι ὁπόσου θέλοι, μέλλειν δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς ἀποτῖσαι, ἂν δὲ ἀποδρᾷ τὸ ἀνδράποδον, κομί-
1353 a ζεσθαι τὴν τιμὴν ἣν ἀνεγράψατο. ἀπογραφέντων οὖν πολλῶν ἀνδραπόδων οὐκ ὀλίγον συντελεῖ[2] ἀργύριον. εἰ δέ τι ἀποδρῴη ἀνδράποδον, ἐκέλευε τὸν σατράπην τῆς . . .[3] ἐν ᾗ ἐστι τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀνασῴζειν ⟨ἢ⟩ τὴν τιμὴν τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποδοῦναι.

Ὀφέλας[4] Ὀλύνθιος καταστήσας ἐπιμελητὴν ἐπὶ τὸν νομὸν τὸν Ἀθριβίτην,[5] ἐπεὶ προσελθόντες αὐτῷ οἱ νομάρχαι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τούτου ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι πλείω αὐτοὶ πολὺ φέρειν, τὸν δ' ἐπιμελητὴν τὸν νῦν καθεστηκότα ἀπαλλάξαι αὐτὸν ἠξίουν, ἐπερωτήσας αὐτοὺς εἰ δυνήσονται συντελεῖν ἅπερ ἐπαγγέλλονται, φησάντων αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν ἐπιμελητὴν κατὰ χώραν εἴα, τοὺς δὲ φόρους πράσ-

[1] Reading τοὺς ἄλλους ἄγοντας (Bekker) for ἄλλους τοὺς ἄγοντας (MSS.), and ἐπιδημοῦντας, Schneider's correction of MS. ἀποδημοῦντας.

[2] Reading συνετελεῖτο (Sylburg, after Camerarius), or συνελέγη (marginal note in one MS.), for MS. συντελεῖ.

[3] Perhaps χώρας has fallen out (Schneider).

[4] The spelling Ὀφέλλας is restored by Keil for MS. Ὀφέλας.

[5] Ἀθριβίτην restored by Sylburg for MS. ἀρθριδήτων, αἰθριδίτην, or ἀρθριδίτην.

Alexander superintendent of highways in the province of Babylon, adopted the following means of raising funds. An ancient law of the country imposed a tax of one-tenth on all imports ; but this had fallen into total abeyance. Antimenes kept a watch for all governors and soldiers whose arrival was expected, and upon the many ambassadors and craftsmen who were invited to the city, but brought with them others who dwelt there unofficially ; and also upon the multitude of presents that were brought ⟨to these persons⟩, on which he exacted the legal tax of a tenth.

Another expedient was this. He invited the owners of any slaves in the camp to register them at whatever value they desired, undertaking at the same time to pay him eight drachmae a year. If the slave ran away, the owner was to recover the registered value. Many slaves were thus registered, and a large sum of money was paid ⟨in premiums⟩. And when a slave ran away, Antimenes instructed the governor of the ⟨province⟩ where the camp lay either to recover the man or to pay his master his value.

Ophellas of Olynthus appointed an officer to super- 35
intend the revenues of the province of Athribis. The local governors came to him and told him they were willing to pay a much larger amount in taxes ; but asked him to remove the present superintendent. Ophellas inquired if they were really able to pay what they promised ; and on their assuring him that they were, left the superintendent in office and instructed him to demand from them the amount of tax which

1353 a σεσθαι ἐκέλευεν ὅσους αὐτοὶ ὑπετιμήσαντο. οὔτε
οὖν ὃν κατέστησεν ἀτιμάσαι ἐδόκει οὔτ' ἐκείνοις
πλείους φόρους ἐπιβαλεῖν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔταξαν, χρήματα
δὲ πολλαπλάσια αὐτὸς ἐλάμβανεν.

Πυθοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος Ἀθηναίοις συνεβούλευσε 36
τὸν μόλιβδον τὸν ἐκ τῶν Λαυρίων[1] παραλαμβάνειν
παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ ἐπώλουν,
δίδραχμον, εἶτα τάξαντας αὐτοὺς τιμὴν ἑξαδράχμου
οὕτω πωλεῖν.

Χαβρίας πληρωμάτων τε κατειλεγμένων εἰς 37
ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι ναῦς, τῷ δὲ Ταῷ ἑξήκοντα μόνον
οὔσης χρείας, προσέταξε τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἑξήκοντα
νεῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑπομενουσῶν τοὺς πλέοντας εἰς
δίμηνον σιτηρεσιάσαι, ἢ αὐτοὺς πλέειν. οἱ δὲ
βουλόμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων μεῖναι[2] ἔδωκαν ἃ προσ-
έταξεν.

Ἀντιμένης τούς τε θησαυροὺς τοὺς παρὰ τὰς 38
ὁδοὺς τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀναπληροῦν ἐκέλευε τοὺς
σατράπας κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῆς χώρας· ὁπότε
δὲ διαπορεύοιτο στρατόπεδον[3] ἢ ἕτερος ὄχλος ἄνευ
τοῦ βασιλέως, πέμψας τινὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ[4] ἐπώλει τὰ
ἐκ τῶν θησαυρῶν.

1353 b Κλεομένης προσπορευομένης τε τῆς νουμηνίας 39
καὶ δέον τοῖς στρατιώταις σιταρχίαν δοῦναι κατ-
έπλευσεν ἐξεπίτηδες, προσπορευομένου[5] δὲ τοῦ

[1] Λαυρίων is Sylburg's correction of MS. Τυρίων.

[2] Keil, for MS. εἶναι.

[3] διαπορεύοιτο στρατόπεδον Sylburg for MS. διαποροῦν τὸ (or διαποροῦντο) στρατόπεδον. The Aldine edition and Bekker read διαποροίη τὸ στρατόπεδον, "the army was in need of provisions."

[4] παρ' αὐτοῦ Susemihl for MS. παρ' αὐτοῦ: παρ' αὐτὸν, "to them," Bekker.

[5] Reading προπορευομένου (Sylburg) for προσπορευομένου MSS.

they themselves had assessed. And so, without being chargeable either with discountenancing the officer he had appointed, or with taxing the governors beyond their own estimate, he obtained from the latter many times his previous revenue.

Pythocles the Athenian recommended his fellow- 36
countrymen that the State should take over from private citizens the lead obtained from the mines of Laurium[a] at the price of two drachmae ⟨per talent ?⟩ which they were asking, and should itself sell it at the fixed price of six drachmae.

Chabrias had levied crews for a hundred and twenty 37
ships to serve King Taos.[b] Finding that Taos needed only sixty ships, he gave the crews of the superfluous sixty their choice between providing those who were to serve with two months' rations, and themselves taking their place. Desiring to remain at their business, they gave what he demanded.

Antimenes bade the governors of the provinces 38
replenish, in accordance with the law of the country, the magazines along the royal highways. Whenever an army passed through the country or any other body of men unaccompanied by the king, he sent an officer to sell them the contents of the magazines.

Cleomenes, as the beginning of the month ap- 39
proached when his soldiers' allowance became due, deliberately sailed away down the river ; and not till

[a] These silver mines were state property ; but mining rights therein were let to private citizens. Lead and silver were found in the same ore and had to be separated. The weight of the lead is not specified : it may have been a talent of 80 lbs. See Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* ; and Xenophon, *De vectigalibus*.

[b] See § 25.

1353 b μηνὸς ἀναπλεύσας διέδωκε τὴν σιταρχίαν, εἶτα τοῦ εἰσιόντος μηνὸς διέλιπεν ἕως τῆς νουμηνίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται διὰ τὸ νεωστὶ εἰληφέναι τὴν σιταρχίαν ἡσυχίαν εἶχον, ἐκεῖνος δὲ παραλλάξας ἕνα μῆνα παρὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφῄρει μισθὸν ἀεὶ μηνός.

Σταβέλβιος ὁ Μυσῶν . . . στρατιώταις μισθὸν 40
συγκαλέσας . . .[1] ἔφησεν αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδεμίαν χρείαν εἶναι, τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων, ὅταν ⟨δὲ⟩ δέηται στρατιωτῶν, ἐκείνων ἑκάστῳ δοὺς ἀργύριον ἀποστέλλειν[2] ἐπὶ ξενολογίαν, τούς τε μισθοὺς οὓς δεῖ κείνοις δοῦναι, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἂν ἥδιον διδόναι· ἐκέλευεν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν ἕκαστον τοὺς αὐτῶν καταλόγους ἐκ τῆς χώρας. τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων ὑπολαβόντων χρηματισμὸν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι, ἀπέστειλαν τοὺς στρατιώτας, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος προσέταξε. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον καὶ συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς οὔτε αὐλητὴν ἄνευ χοροῦ οὔτε ἡγεμόνας ἄνευ ἰδιωτῶν οὐδὲν ἔφη χρησίμους εἶναι· ἐκέλευεν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

Διονύσιος τὰ ἱερὰ περιπορευόμενος, εἰ μὲν 41
τράπεζαν ἴδοι παρακειμένην χρυσῆν ἢ ἀργυρᾶν, ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος κελεύσας ἐγχέαι ἐκέλευεν ἀφαιρεῖν, ὅσα δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων φιάλην εἶχε προτετακότα, εἴπας ἂν ὅτι δέχομαι, ἐξαιρεῖν ἐκέλευε.

[1] Reading Σταβέλβιος ὁ Μυσῶν ⟨βασιλεὺς (Raphael Volaterranus) οὐκ ἔχων τοῖς⟩ στρατιώταις μισθόν, συγκαλέσας ⟨τοὺς ἡγέμονας⟩ (Camerarius).

[2] Reading ἀποστελεῖν for ms. ἀποστέλλειν, "it was his custom to entrust . . . and send . . ."

the month was advanced did he return and distribute the allowance. For the coming month, he omitted the distribution altogether until the following month began. Thus the men were quieted by the recent distribution, and Cleomenes, passing over a month each year, docked his troops of a month's pay.[a]

Stabelbius, king of the Mysians, lacking pay to 40
give his troops, summoned a meeting of the officers, and declared that he no longer needed the private soldiers, but only the officers. When he required troops, he would entrust a sum of money to each officer and send him to collect mercenaries; but that meanwhile he preferred to give the officers the pay he would otherwise have to give the men. Accordingly he bade each dismiss the men who were on his own muster-roll. The officers, scenting a source of gain for themselves, dismissed their men, as they were bidden. Shortly afterwards, Stabelbius called them together and informed them that a conductor without his chorus and an officer without his men were alike useless; wherefore let them depart from his country.

When Dionysius was making a tour of the temples, 41
wherever he saw a gold or silver table set, he bade them fill a cup "in honour of the good spirit," [b] and then had the table carried away. Wherever, again, he saw a precious bowl set before one of the images, he would order its removal, with the words "I accept

[a] σιταρχία (corn allowance) and μισθός (pay) here seem to be identified; possibly because in a land where grain was readily purchasable the former was given in money. *Cf.* §§ 23, 29.

[b] *Cf.* Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 3. 4, and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, xv. 693.

1353 b τά θ' ἱμάτια τά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ⟨τοὺς⟩ . .[1] περιῄρει τῶν ἀγαλμάτων, φάσκων αὐτὸς καὶ κουφότερα καὶ εὐωδέστερα δοῦναι· εἶτα ἱμάτια μὲν λευκά, στεφάνους δὲ λευκοΐνους[2] περιετίθει.

1 ⟨τοὺς⟩ * * inserted by Susemihl, as there is a lacuna in some of the MSS. Perhaps it would be better to insert ⟨καὶ τἀργυρᾶ⟩ after τά τε χρυσᾶ, "gold and silver raiment."

it." He also stripped the images of their golden raiment and garlands, and declaring he would give them lighter and more fragrant wear, arrayed them in robes of white ⟨linen⟩ and garlands of white stocks.

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[2] λευκοΐνους Camerarius for MS. λευκίνους, "of poplar."

Rose (*Arist. fr.* 184). p. 140

Γ

I. Bonam mulierem eorum quae sunt intus dominari oportet curam habentem omnium secundum scriptas leges, non permittentem ingredi nullum, si non vir perceperit,[1] timentem praecipue verba forensium mulierum ad corruptionem animae. Et quae intus sibi contingunt ut sola sciat, et si quid sinistri ab ingredientibus fiat, vir habet causam. Dominam existentem expensarum et sumptuum ad festivitates, quas quidem vir permiserit, expensis et vestimento ac apparatu minori utentem quam etiam leges civitatis praecipiunt, considerantem quoniam nec quaestus vestimentorum differens forma[2] nec auri multitudo tanta est ad mulieris virtutem quanta modestia in quolibet opere et desiderium honestae atque compositae vitae. Etenim quilibet talis ornatus et elatio animi est[3] et multo certius ad senectutem iustas laudes sibi filiisque tribuendo.

Talium quidem igitur ipsa se inanimet mulier composite dominari (indecens enim viro videtur scire quae intus fiunt): in ceteris autem omnibus viro
p. 141 parere intendat nec quicquam civilium audiens nec

[1] *c reads* praeceperit, "*authority.*"

[2] *Reading* scientem quod nec vestium quaestus differt pulchritudine (*c*) (εἰδυῖαν οὔτε κτῆσιν ἱματίων διαφέρουσαν κάλλει . . .).

[3] *Reading* etenim invidiosus (ζηλωτός) omnis animae huiusmodi ornatus est. . . . (*c*).

BOOK III

I. A good wife should be the mistress of her home, having under her care all that is within it, according to the rules we have laid down. She should allow none to enter without her husband's knowledge, dreading above all things the gossip of gadding women, which tends to poison the soul. She alone should have knowledge of what happens within, whilst if any harm is wrought by those from without, her husband will bear the blame. She must exercise control of the money spent on such festivities as her husband has approved, keeping, moreover, within the limit set by law upon expenditure, dress, and ornament; and remembering that beauty depends not on costliness of raiment, nor does abundance of gold so conduce to the praise of a woman as self-control in all that she does, and her inclination towards an honourable and well-ordered life.[a] For such adornment of the soul as this is in truth ever a thing to be envied, and a far surer warrant for the payment, to the woman herself in her old age and to her children after her, of the due meed of praise.

This, then, is the province over which a woman should be minded to bear an orderly rule; for it seems not fitting that a man should know all that passes within the house. But in all other matters, let it be her aim to obey her husband; giving no heed

[a] *Cf.* 1 Peter iii. 3, 4.

p. 141 aliquid de hiis quae ad nuptias spectare videntur velit peragere. Sed cum tempus exigit proprios filios filiasve foras tradere aut recipere, tunc autem pareat quoque viro in omnibus et simul deliberet et oboediat, si ille praeceperit, arbitrans non ita viro esse turpe eorum quae domi sunt quicquam peragere sicut mulieri quae foris sunt perquirere. Sed arbitrari decet vere compositam mulierem viri mores vitae suae legem imponi, a deo sibi impositos, cum nuptiis et fortuna coniunctos, quos equidem si patienter et humiliter ferat, facile reget domum, si vero non, difficilius. Propter quae decet non solum cum contingit virum ad rerum esse prosperitatem et ad aliam gloriam, unanimem esse[1] ac iuxta velle servire, verum etiam in adversitatibus. Si quid autem in rebus deerit vel ad corporis aegritudinem aut ad ignorantiam animae esse manifestam, dicat quoque semper optima et in decentibus obsequatur, praeterquam turpe quidem agere aut sibi non dignum, vel memorem esse, si quid vir animae passione ad ipsam peccaverit, de nihilo conqueratur quasi illo hoc peragente, sed haec omnia aegritudinis ac ignorantiae ponere et accidentium peccatorum. Quantum enim in hiis quis diligentius obsequetur, tanto maiorem gratiam habebit qui curatus extiterit, cum ab aegritudine fuerit liberatus : et si quid ei iubenti non bene habentium non paruerit mulier, multo magis sentiet a morbo curatus. Propter quae decet timere huiusmodi, in

[1] *Reading, with c,* prudentia simul intellegere = σωφρόνως ὁμονοεῖν (?).

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[a] Mr. D. J. Allan in the *Classical Review* prefers "let her assist him in deliberation, and if he gives instructions, obey him." This may be right if *simul deliberet* represents συμβουλευέτω and not ὁμονοείτω or the like. *c* has *secum deliberet.*

[b] Or (if *manifestam esse* represents δηλονότι) "then plainly it is her part to encourage . . . and to yield . . ."

to public affairs, nor desiring any part in arranging the marriages of her children. Rather, when the time shall come to give or receive in marriage sons or daughters, let her even then hearken to her husband in all respects, and agreeing with him obey his behest [a]; considering that it is less unseemly for him to deal with a matter within the house than it is for her to pry into those outside its walls. Nay, it is fitting that a woman of well-ordered life should consider that her husband's uses are as laws appointed for her own life by divine will, along with the marriage state and the fortune she shares. If she endure them with patience and gentleness, she will rule her home with ease; otherwise, not so easily. Wherefore not only when her husband is in prosperity and good report does it beseem her to be in modest agreement with him, and to render him the service he wills, but also in times of adversity. If, through sickness or fault of judgement, his good fortune fails, then must she show her quality,[b] encouraging him ever with words of cheer and yielding him obedience in all fitting ways; only let her do nothing base or unworthy of herself, or remember any wrong her husband may have done her through distress of mind. Let her refrain from all complaint, nor charge him with the wrong, but rather attribute everything of this kind to sickness or ignorance or accidental errors. For the more sedulous her service herein, the fuller will be his gratitude when he is restored, and freed from his trouble; and if she has failed to obey him when he commanded aught that is amiss, the deeper will be his recognition ⟨of her loyalty⟩ when health returns. Wherefore, whilst careful to avoid such ⟨misplaced obedience⟩, in other respects she will

p. 141 aliis autem multo diligentius obsequi, quam si empta venisset ad domum : magno enim pretio empta fuit, societate namque vitae et procreatione liberorum quibus nil maius nec sanctius fieret. Adhuc insuper si quidem cum felici viro vixisset, non quoque similiter p. 142 fieret divulgata.[1] Et quidem non modicum est uti bene prosperitate et non humiliter, verum etiam adversitatem bene sufferre multo magis merito honoratur : nam in multis iniuriis et doloribus esse et nihil turpe peragere fortis animi est. Orare quidem igitur decet in adversitatem virum non pervenire, si vero quicquam mali sibi contingat, arbitrari huic[2] optimam laudem esse sobriae mulieris, existimantem quoniam nec Alcestis tantam acquireret sibi gloriam nec Penelope tot et tantas laudes meruisset, si cum felicibus viris vixissent : nunc autem Admeti et Ulixis adversitates paraverunt eis memoriam immortalem. Factae enim in malis fideles et iustae viris, a diis nec immerito sunt honoratae. Prosperitatis quidem enim facile invenire participantes, adversitati vero nolunt communicare non optimae mulierum. Propter quae omnia decet multo magis honorare virum et in verecundia non habere, si sacra pudicitia[3] et opes animositatis[4] filius secundum Herculem[5] non sequantur.

II. Mulierem quidem ergo in quodam tali typo

[1] *c reads* manifesta *for* divulgata (*cf.* esse manifestam *above*).

[2] *Reading* hic *with c.*

[3] *c reads* mentis sanitas *for the* pudicitia *of a and b. Both translate apparently* σωφροσύνη.

[4] animositatis *the* MSS. *of b give the Greek word,* εὐθυμοσύνης, *in corrupt forms, which Rose emends to* euthymosynae.

[5] *Reading* Orpheum *with b and c for* Herculem *a.*

[a] For Orpheus see Index.

serve him more assiduously than if she had been a bondwoman bought and taken home. For he has indeed bought her with a great price—with partnership in his life and in the procreation of children; than which things nought could be greater or more divine. And besides all this, the wife who had only lived in company with a fortunate husband would not have had the like opportunity to show her true quality. For though there be no small merit in a right and noble use of prosperity, still the right endurance of adversity justly receives an honour greater by far. For only a great soul can live in the midst of trouble and wrong without itself committing any base act. And so, while praying that her husband may be spared adversity, if trouble should come it beseems the wife to consider that here a good woman wins her highest praise. Let her bethink herself how Alcestis would never have attained such renown nor Penelope have deserved all the high praises bestowed on her had not their husbands known adversity; whereas the troubles of Admetus and Ulysses have obtained for their wives a reputation that shall never die. For because in time of distress they proved themselves faithful and dutiful to their husbands, the gods have bestowed on them the honour they deserved. To find partners in prosperity is easy enough; but only the best women are ready to share in adversity. For all these reasons it is fitting that a woman should ⟨in time of adversity⟩ pay her husband an honour greater by far, nor feel shame on his account even when, as Orpheus [a] says,

Holy health of soul, and wealth, the child of a brave spirit,

companion him no more.

II. Such then is the pattern of the rules and ways

p. 142 legum et morum oportet se custodire: vir autem leges a similibus adinveniat uxoris in usum, quoniam tamquam socia filiorum et vitae ad domum viri[1] devenit, relinquens filios genitorum viri et sui nomina
p. 143 habituros. Quibus quid sanctius[2] fieret aut circa quae magis vir sanae mentis studebit quam ex optima et pretiosissima muliere liberos procreare senectutis pastores quasi optimos et pudicos[3] patris ac matris custodes ac totius domus conservatores: quoniam educati quippe recte a patre et matre sancte atque iuste ipsis utentium[4] quasi merito boni fient, hoc autem non obtinentes patientur defectum. Exemplum enim vitae filiis nisi parentes dederint, puram et excusabilem causam adinvicem habere poterunt. Timor⟨que⟩ ne contempti a filiis, cum non bene viverent, ad interitum ipsis erunt.

Propter quae enim nihil decet omittere ad uxoris doctrinam, ut iuxta posse quasi ex optimis liberos valeant procreare. Etenim agricola nihil omittit studendo, ut ad optimam terram[5] et maxime bene cultam semen consumere, expectans ita optimum sibi fructum fieri, et vult pro ea, ut devastari non possit, si sic contigerit, mori cum inimicis pugnando: et huiusmodi mors maxime honoratur. Ubi autem tantum studium fit pro corporis esca, ad quam animae

[1] *Reading, with c,* quoniam promissa socia vitae et filiorum sicut ab extraneitate deprecator ad domum viri . . . (*cf. Bk. I., c. iv.* 1).

[2] *Reading* divinius *c. Otherwise,* " *more sacred.*"

[3] *Reading* prudentissimos *c:* pudicos *is apparently a misunderstanding of* σώφρονας.

[4] utentibus *c. a apparently keeps the genitive of the Greek.*

[5] ut ad optimam terram = εἰς γῆν ὡς ἀρίστην (?).

[a] This rendering seems to be supported by *c*'s *non merentes autem hoc periclitabuntur.* But the change of subject is awkward, and Mr. Allan prefers " children deprived of their

of living which a good wife will observe. And the rules which a good husband will follow in treatment of his wife will be similar; seeing that she has entered his home like a suppliant from without, and is pledged to be the partner of his life and parenthood; and that the offspring she leaves behind her will bear the names of their parents, her name as well as his. And what could be more divine than this, or more desired by a man of sound mind, than to beget by a noble and honoured wife children who shall be the most loyal supporters and discreet guardians of their parents in old age, and the preservers of the whole house? Rightly reared by father and mother, children will grow up virtuous, as those who have treated them piously and righteously deserve that they should; but ⟨parents⟩ who observe not these precepts will be losers thereby.[a] For unless parents have given their children an example how to live, the children in their turn will be able to offer a fair and specious excuse ⟨for undutifulness⟩. Such parents will risk being rejected by their offspring for their evil lives, and thus bringing destruction upon their own heads.

Wherefore his wife's training should be the object of a man's unstinting care; that so far as is possible their children may spring from the noblest of stock. For the tiller of the soil spares no pains to sow his seed in the most fertile and best cultivated land, looking thus to obtain the fairest fruits; and to save it from devastation is ready, if such be his lot, to fall in conflict with his foes; a death which men crown with the highest of praise. Seeing, then, that such care is lavished on the body's food, surely every care

advantages will experience feelings of revolt from their parents."

p. 143 semen consumitur, quid si pro suis liberis matre atque nutrice[1] nonne omne studium est faciendum? Hoc enim solo omne mortale semper factum immortalitatis participat, et omnes petitiones ac orationes divum permanent paternorum. Unde qui contemnit hoc, et deos videtur neglegere. Propter deos itaque, coram quibus sacra mactavit et uxorem duxit, et multo magis se post parentes uxori tradidit ad honorem.

Maximus autem honor sobriae mulieri, si videt virum suum observantem sibi castitatem et de nulla alia muliere curam magis habentem, sed prae ceteris omnibus propriam et amicam et fidelem [sibi] existi-
p. 144 mantem. Tanto etiam magis studebit se talem esse mulier: si cognoverit fideliter atque iuste ad se virum amabilem esse, et ipsa circa virum iuste fidelis erit. Ergo prudentem[2] ignorare non decet nec parentum qui sui honores sunt nec qui uxori et filiis proprii et decentes, ut tribuens unicuique quae sua sunt iustus et sanctus fiat. Multo enim maxime graviter quisque fert honore suo privatus, nec etiam si aliorum quis multa dederit propria auferendo, libenter acceperit. Nihil quoque maius nec propius est uxori ad virum quam societas honorabilis et fidelis. Propter quae non decet hominem sanae mentis[3] ut ubicunque contingit ponere semen suum, nec ad qualemcunque accesserit, proprium immittere semen, ut non degeneribus et iniquis similia liberis legitimis

[1] *Reading, with one* MS. *of b,* pro suorum filiorum matre atque nutrice. *Probably a has misunderstood* περὶ παίδων μητρὸς καὶ τρόφου. ad quam animae semen consumitur, *misplaced in a, follows* nutrice *in b and c.*

[2] prudentem = τὸν σώφρονα? *c has* qui sanae mentis est. *Cf. the next note.*

[3] hominem sanae mentis *here c has* recte sapientem.

[a] *i.e.*, the procreation of children.

should be taken on behalf of our own children's mother and nurse, in whom is implanted the seed from which there springs a living soul. For it is only by this means that each mortal, successively produced, participates in immortality; and that petitions and prayers continue to be offered to ancestral gods. So that he who thinks lightly of this [a] would seem also to be slighting the gods. For their sake then, in whose presence he offered sacrifice and led his wife home, promising to honour her far above all others saving his parents, ⟨a man must have care for wife and children⟩.

Now a virtuous wife is best honoured when she sees that her husband is faithful to her, and has no preference for another woman; but before all others loves and trusts her and holds her as his own. And so much the more will the woman seek to be what he accounts her. If she perceives that her husband's affection for her is faithful and righteous, she too will be faithful and righteous towards him. Wherefore a man of sound mind ought not to forget what honours are proper to his parents or what fittingly belong to his wife and children; so that rendering to each and all their own, he may obey the law of men and of gods. For the deprivation we feel most of all is that of the special honour which is our due; nor will abundant gifts of what belongs to others be welcome to him who is dispossessed of his own. Now to a wife nothing is of more value, nothing more rightfully her own, than honoured and faithful partnership with her husband. Wherefore it befits not a man of sound mind to bestow his person promiscuously, or have random intercourse with women; for otherwise the base-born will share in the

p. 144 fiant,[1] et quidem uxor honore suo privetur, filiis vero opprobrium adiungatur.

III. De hiis ergo omnibus reverentia viro debetur[2] : appropinquare vero decet eius uxori cum honestate et cum multa modestia et timore, dando verba coniunctionis eius, qui bene habet, ac liciti operis et honesti, multa modestia[3] et fide utendo, parva quidem et spontanea[4] remittendo peccata : et si quid autem per ignorantiam deliquerit, moneat nec metum incutiat sine verecundia et pudore. Nec etiam sit neglegens nec severus.[5] Talis quidem enim passio meretricis ⟨ad⟩ adulterum est, cum verecundia autem et pudore aequaliter diligere et timere liberae mulieris ad proprium virum est. Duplex enim timoris species est : alia quidem fit cum verecundia et pudore, qua utuntur ad patres filii sobrii et honesti et cives com-
145 positi ad benignos rectores, alia vero cum inimicitia et odio, sicut servi ad dominos et cives ad tyrannos iniuriosos et iniquos.

Ex hiis quoque omnibus eligens meliora, uxorem sibi concordem et fidelem et propriam facere decet, ut praesente viro et non, utatur semper non minus ac si praesens adesset, ut tamquam rerum com-

[1] *Or reading, with c,* ut non de illegitimis et vilibus generibus similes his, qui legitime procreati sunt, "*for otherwise the unlawfully and basely born will be undistinguished from his children of lawful birth.*"

[2] *Reading, with c,* attendendum est viro.

[3] *c reads* mansuetudine, "*gentleness.*"

[4] *Reading* quae non sponte *c for* spontanea *a.*

[5] *Or reading, with c,* nec solutam saevitiam nec voluptatem, "*anger and pleasure must alike be kept in control.*"

rights of his lawful children, and his wife will be robbed of her honour due, and shame be attached to his sons.

III. To all these matters, therefore, a man should give heed. And it is fitting that he should approach his wife in honourable wise, full of self-restraint and awe ; and in his conversation with her, should use only the words of a right-minded man, suggesting only such acts as are themselves lawful and honourable ; treating her with much self-restraint and trust,[a] and passing over any trivial or unintentional errors she has committed. And if through ignorance she has done wrong, he should advise her of it without threatening, in a courteous and modest manner. Indifference ⟨to her faults⟩ and harsh reproof ⟨of them⟩, he must alike avoid. Between a courtesan and her lover, such tempers are allowed their course ; between a free woman and her lawful spouse there should be a reverent and modest mingling of love and fear. For of fear there are two kinds. The fear which virtuous and honourable sons feel towards their fathers, and loyal citizens towards right-minded rulers, has for its companions reverence and modesty ; but the other kind, felt by slaves for masters and by subjects for despots who treat them with injustice and wrong, is associated with hostility and hatred.

By choosing the better of all these alternatives a husband should secure the agreement, loyalty, and devotion of his wife, so that whether he himself is present or not, there may be no difference in her attitude towards him, since she realizes that they are

[a] Or "loyalty."

D. 145 munium curatores,[1] et quando vir abest ut sentiat uxor, quod nullus sibi melior nec modestior nec magis proprius viro suo. Et ostendet hoc in principio[2] ad commune bonum semper respiciens, quamvis novitia sit in talibus. Et si ipse sibi maxime dominetur, optimus totius vitae rector existet et uxorem talibus uti docebit. Nam nec amicitiam nec timorem absque pudore nequaquam honoravit Homerus,[3] sed ubique amare praecepit cum modestia et pudore, timere autem sicut Helena ait dicens Priamum : " metuendus et reverendus es mihi et terribilis, amatissime socer," nil aliud dicens quam cum timore ipsum diligere ac pudore. Et rursus Ulixes ad Nausicaam dicit hoc : " te, mulier, valde miror et timeo." Arbitratur enim Homerus sic ad invicem virum et uxorem habere putans ambos bene fieri taliter se habentes. Nemo enim diligit nec miratur unquam peiorem nec timet etiam cum pudore, sed huiusmodi passiones contingunt ad invicem melioribus et natura benignis, minoribus tamen scientia ad se meliores. Hunc habitum Ulixes ad Penelopen habens in absentia nil deliquit, Agamemnon autem propter Chryseidem ad

[1] *Or reading, with c,* ut praesente viro et non, utatur nihilo minus, ac si quando parentes sibi adsint, ut communibus curet rebus, "*so that whether he himself is present or not, she may treat him as she would her parents, and act as guardian of the common interests.*" (*Perhaps the translator has confused the Greek word* παρόντος *with the Latin word* parentes.)

[2] *c reads* ostendet quidem vir hoc in principio. *Perhaps* vir *is an error for* uxor.

[3] *Or reading, with c,* sicut et Homerus ait decet habere virum. Non enim . . . , "*and so too would the poet Homer have a husband to be. For he . . .*"

[a] *Iliad* iii. 172 :

αἰδοῖός τέ μοί ἐσσι, φίλε ἑκυρέ, δεινός τε.

alike guardians of the common interests; and so when he is away she may feel that to her no man is kinder or more virtuous or more truly hers than her own husband. And ⟨a good wife⟩ will make this manifest from the beginning by her unfailing regard for the common welfare, novice though she be in such matters. And if the husband learns first to master himself, he will thereby become his wife's best guide in all the affairs of life, and will teach her to follow his example. For Homer pays no honour either to affection or to fear apart from the shame or modesty that shrinks from evil. Everywhere he bids affection be coupled with self-control and shame; whilst the fear he commends is such as Helen owns when she thus addresses Priam: "Beloved sire of my lord, it is fitting that I fear thee and dread thee and revere"[a]; meaning that her love for him is mingled with fear and modest shame. And again, Ulysses speaks to Nausicaa in this manner: "Thou, lady, dost fill me with wonder and with fear."[b] For Homer believes that this is the feeling of a ⟨good⟩ husband and wife for one another, and that if they so feel, it will be well with them both. For none ever loves or admires or fears in this shamefaeed way one of baser character; but such are the feelings towards one another of nobler souls and those by nature good; or of the inferior toward those they know to be their betters. Feeling thus toward Penelope, Ulysses remained faithful to her in his wanderings; whereas Agamemnon did wrong to his wife for the sake of Chryseis,

[b] *Odyssey* vi 168 (like the young palm-tree at Delos):

ὥς σέ, γύναι, ἄγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε δείδιά τ' αἰνῶς
γούνων ἅψασθαι . . .

p. 145 eius uxorem peccavit, in ecclesia dicens mulierem captivam et non bonam, immo ut dicam barbaram, in nullo deficere in virtutibus Clytaemnestrae, non bene
p. 146 quidem, ex se liberos habente,[1] neque iuste cohabitare usus est. Qualiter enim iuste, qui antequam sciret, illam, qualis fieret erga se, nuper per violentiam duxit? Ulixes autem rogante ipsum Atlantis filia sibi cohabitare et promittente semper facere immortalem,[2] nec ut fieret immortalis prodere praesumpsit uxoris affectum et dilectionem et fidem, maximam arbitrans poenam suam fieri, si malus existens immortalitatem mereatur habere. Nam cum Circe iacere noluit nisi propter amicorum salutem, immo respondit ei, quod nihil dulcius eius patria posset videri quamvis aspera existente, et oravit magis mortalem uxorem filiumque videre quam vivere: sic firmiter in uxorem fidem suam servabat. Pro quibus recipiebat aequaliter ab uxore.

IV. Patet etiam et actor[3] in oratione Ulixis ad Nausicaam honorare maxime viri et uxoris cum nuptiis pudicam societatem. Oravit enim deos sibi[4]

[1] *This points to* Κλυταιμνήστρας . . . ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἐχούσης. *c has* deesse a Clytemnestra . . . non bene igitur, liberos habens ex ea, nec iuste puella muliere usus est.

[2] *Reading, with c,* et promittente immortalem facere et beatum omni tempore.

[3] *Reading* auctor *with one* MS. *c reads* poeta.

[4] *Durand seems to have mistaken* αὐτῇ *for* αὐτῇ. *This would account for his writing* ipsa *in the next sentence.*

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[a] *Iliad* i. 113:

καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα,
κουριδίης ἀλόχου, ἐπεὶ οὔ ἑθέν ἐστι χερείων,
οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτε τι ἔργα.

[b] Calypso. See *Odyssey* v. 136, 203 foll.

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Gorgias* 472 foll.

[d] *Cf. Odyssey* ix. 26 foll.

declaring in open assembly that a base captive woman, and of alien race besides, was in no wise inferior to Clytemnestra in womanly excellence.[a] This was ill spoken of the mother of his children; nor was his connexion with the other a righteous one. How could it be, when he had but recently compelled her to be his concubine, and before he had any experience of her behaviour to him? Ulysses on the other hand, when the daughter of Atlas[b] besought him to share her bed and board, and promised him immortality and everlasting happiness, could not bring himself even for the sake of immortality to betray the kindness and love and loyalty of his wife, deeming immortality purchased by unrighteousness to be the worst of all punishments.[c] For it was only to save his comrades that he yielded his person to Circe; and in answer to her he even declared that in his eyes nothing could be more lovely than his native isle, rugged though it were; and prayed that he might die, if only he might look upon his mortal wife and son.[d] So firmly did he keep troth with his wife; and received in return from her the like loyalty.[e]

IV. Once again, in the words addressed by Ulysses to Nausicaa[f] the poet makes clear the great honour in which he holds the virtuous companionship of man and wife in marriage. There he prays the gods to

[e] With this chapter *cf.* the poem of Simon Dach (1648) translated by Longfellow as "Annie of Tharaw."

[f] *Odyssey* vi. 180 foll.:

σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς,
ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην ὀπάσειαν
ἐσθλήν· οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρεῖσσον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον
ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή· πόλλ' ἄλγεα δυσμενέεσσιν,
χάρματα δ' εὐμενέτῃσι· μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.

p. 146 dare virum et domum et unanimitatem optatam ad virum, non quamcunque, sed bonam. Nihil enim maius bonum ipsa in hominibus ait esse,[1] quam cum concordes vir et uxor in voluntatibus domum regunt. Hinc patet rursus, quod non laudat unanimitatem ad invicem, quae circa prava servitia fit, sed eam quae animo et prudentia iuste coniuncta est: nam voluntatibus domum regere[2] id significat. Et iterum dicens quia cum huiusmodi dilectio fit, multae quidem tristitiae inimicis fiunt, in ipsis amicis vero gaudia multa,[3] et maxime audiunt ipsum sicut vera dicentem. Nam viro et uxore circa optima concorditer existentibus necesse et utriusque amicos sibi ad invicem concordare, deinde fortes existentes esse terribiles inimicis, suis autem utiles: hiis vero discordantibus
p. 147 different et amici, deinde vero infirmos esse maxime ipsos huiusmodi sentire.[4]

In istis autem manifeste praecipit actor[5] ea quidem quae prava et impudica, invicem inhibere, ea vero quae iuxta posse[6] et pudica et iusta sunt, indifferenter[7] sibimet ipsis servire: studentes primo quidem curam parentum habere, vir quidem eorum qui sunt uxoris

[1] *Reading, with c,* nihil enim hoc maius bonum inquit esse in hominibus. (*But c has* sibi *above.*)

[2] *c omits* domum regunt (*above*) *and* domum regere (*here*).

[3] *Or reading, with c,* necesse et amicos utriusque laetari, "*of necessity the friends of each will also rejoice.*"

[4] *Reading, with c,* oportet et amicos discordes esse, deinde autem debiles esse, maxime autem sentire huiusmodi eos. *The last five words seem to represent* αὐτοὺς δὲ μάλιστα τοιοῦτό τι πάσχειν, *echoing* μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.

[5] *Reading* auctor *with several* MSS. *c has* poeta, *as above.*

[6] iuxta posse = κατὰ δύναμιν *or* κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. *Perhaps the words are misplaced in the Latin, as they appear to qualify* obsequi.

[7] indifferenter = ἀδιαφόρως (?): *c has* cum sollicitudine, "*sedulously.*"

grant her a husband and a home ; and between herself and her husband, precious unity of mind ; provided that such unity be for righteous ends. For, says he, there is no greater blessing on earth than when husband and wife rule their home in harmony of mind and will. Moreover it is evident from this that the unity which the poet commends is no mutual subservience in each other's vices, but one that is rightfully allied with wisdom and understanding ; for this is the meaning of the words " rule the house in ⟨harmony of⟩ mind." And he goes on to say that wherever such a love is found between man and wife, it is a cause of sore distress to those who hate them and of delight to those that love them ; while the truth of his words is most of all acknowledged by the happy pair.[a] For when wife and husband are agreed about the best things in life, of necessity the friends of each will also be mutually agreed ; and the strength which the pair gain from their unity will make them formidable to their enemies and helpful to their own. But when discord reigns between them, their friends too will disagree and become in consequence enfeebled, while the pair themselves will suffer most of all.

In all these precepts it is clear that the poet is teaching husband and wife to dissuade one another from whatever is evil and dishonourable, while unselfishly furthering to the best of their power one another's honourable and righteous aims. In the first place they will strive to perform all duty towards their parents, the husband towards those of his wife

[a] The Greek, as cited above, is

μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί,

" and themselves best know *their own case.*"

p. 147 non minus quam suorum, uxor vero eorum qui sunt viri. Deinde filiorum et amicorum et rerum et totius domus tamquam communis curam habeant, colluctantes ad invicem, ut plurium bonorum ad commune uterque causa fiat et melior atque iustior, dimittens quidem superbiam, regens autem recte et habens humilem modum et mansuetum,[1] ut cum ad senectutem venerint, liberati a beneficio multaque cura et concupiscentiarum et voluptatum, quae interdum fiunt in iuventute, habeant invicem et filiis respondere, uter eorum ad domum plurium bonorum rector factus est, et statim scire aut per fortunam malum aut per virtutem bonum. In quibus qui vicerit, maximum meritum a diis consequitur, ut Pindarus ait : dulce enim sibi cor et spes mortalium multiplicem voluntatem gubernat, secundum autem a filiis, feliciter ad senectutem depasci. Propter quae proprie et communiter decet iuste considerantes ad omnes deos et homines eum qui vitam habet[2] et multum ad suam uxorem et filios et parentes.

[1] *c has* mansuetos et domesticos mores, "*in a kindly spirit which befits a home.*"

[2] *Reading, with c,* vivere *instead of Durand's* eum qui vitam habet. *Perhaps the translator confused* διαβιοῦν (*infin.*) *and* διαβιῶν (*partic.*).

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[a] Or "which of their parents."

[b] A mistranslation of the following words, cited by Plato in *Republic* i. 331 A :

> γλυκεῖά οἱ καρδίαν ἀτάλλοισα γηροτρόφος συναορεῖ
> ἐλπίς, ἃ μάλιστα θνατῶν
> πολύστροφον γνώμαν κυβερνᾷ,

"the old age (of a righteous man) is sustained by a pleasant

no less than towards his own, and she in her turn towards his. Their next duties are towards their children, their friends, their estate, and their entire household which they will treat as a common possession; each vying with the other in the effort to contribute most to the common welfare, and to excel in virtue and righteousness; laying aside arrogance, and ruling with justice in a kindly and unassuming spirit. And so at length, when they reach old age, and are freed from the duty of providing for others and from preoccupation with the pleasures and desires of youth, they will be able to give answer also to their children, if question arise whether child or parent[a] has contributed more good things to the common household store; and will be well assured that whatsoever of evil has befallen them is due to fortune, and whatsoever of good, to their own virtue. One who comes victorious through such question wins from heaven, as Pindar says,[b] his chiefest reward; for "hope, and a soul filled with fair thoughts are supreme in the manifold mind of mortals"; and next, from his children the good fortune of being sustained by them in his old age. And therefore it behoves us to preserve throughout our lives a righteous attitude towards all gods and mortal men, to each individually, and to all in common[c]; and not least towards our own wives and children and parents.

companion that cherishes his heart; even by Hope, who more than aught else guides the wayward mind of mortals."

[c] Or "both as individuals and as members of a community."